

# *The* CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

CONTINUING

*THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA*

(Founded at the University of Toronto in 1896)

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## MARXISM AS A PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

H. B. MAYO

MARX'S economic interpretation of history may be judged in two ways. One way is to subject it to detailed scrutiny and relate it to the evidence of historical and statistical research. This has been done a number of times and it is not my purpose to repeat the examination here. Let it suffice to say that when historical materialism is judged by such scientific tests as are applicable (prediction, ability to explain and fit the facts, and practical success) the theory emerges pretty badly damaged. Its substantial thesis, that is to say, is untenable, although a residue of insights and partial truths doubtless remains: a residue which affects the work of every historian and social scientist and has already been incorporated into the main stream of Western thought.

Marx's theory may also be judged on more broadly philosophical grounds, as an instance of the species known as "philosophy of history." This fashionable phrase does not refer to a method of writing or studying history (methodology) but to something much wider, which may be called the "meaning" of history, or the attempt to give "significance" to the course of events.

The search for a meaning in history is an ancient pastime. From Plato onwards, and even from earlier days, men have tried to agree on the "fable of history." The plain man clearly holds a philosophy of history, even if it is only the lessons in patriotism which he absorbs from his school books and his environment. Never more than now were men frantically examining the records of the past to find the laws upon which they could base a faith to live by. Many people make this search, like Marx, with their faith already cut and dried, and it is not surprising that they then emerge from the archives with a set of selected or even manufactured "facts" to guarantee the truth of their interpretations of history. Even so, it is a search which has often employed the most sensitive and subtle minds, and it is with some diffidence that I add to the sea of ink which has been spilled on philosophies of history in general.

One great stumbling block faces us at the outset: can *any* philosophy of history be tested by an appeal to the evidence of historical occurrences? The answer is not easy to give, but on the whole it appears that the record of events is not such as to establish the truth of any philosophy. Most basic philosophic and theological questions are of the type that neutral and scientific enquiry cannot answer.

Such questions as: what is the purpose of life? is there a meaning behind history? are not answerable by the natural or social sciences. This warning must be kept in mind in any rational or scientific analysis of Marx's laws of history.

The idea that the course of history, like the physical universe, is subject to laws lying behind the seemingly fortuitous events, is one which has fascinated many learned people in all ages. Marx never doubted that such laws exist, and that they are knowable. He claimed indeed to have discovered them, to have laid bare the pattern of law that actually exists beneath the surface, to have "made the processes of history conscious." The question of historical laws is inseparable from the Marxist meaning of history, for to Marx the laws were the guarantee that history would bring the revolution and afterwards the classless society.

We may now put the question to Marx. Has he, by calling attention to economic influences, done more than give us a useful clue to understanding how social change often occurs? Has he in fact revealed any law by which history ineluctably develops? The facts of industrial development since Marx's day do not conform to Marx's expectations, since neither the sharpening class struggle nor the increasing impoverishment have come about. This does not noticeably worry the Marxist because he rests his case upon an ultimate act of faith which, like most faiths, is elastic enough to cover all contingencies. The dialectic of history, like all ambitious historical interpretations, can thus hardly be refuted by experience; on the contrary, experience must be adjusted to the theory, which is always an easy task for an ingenious believer. Marx himself believed, and as a Hegelian could not help but believe, that there was a pattern of logical and dialectical necessity in history. The Marxist construction is not so much, as it is often taken to be, a series of deductions from a few fixed premises as a kind of *Gestalt* or pattern imposed upon society and history. To assume such a fixed and necessary pattern in history is metaphysical in the worst sense of that word, and puts the shaping of events forever beyond the reach of man, even collectively, and even in the classless society.<sup>1</sup>

## II

There are several weighty reasons why Marx the dialectician was wrong, some of them telling with equal force against all ambitious

<sup>1</sup>Marx himself, when he was not thinking in dialectical terms but was behaving like an economic historian, protested in his later life against an "historico-philosophical theory of the *marche générale* imposed by fate upon every people." But this did not alter his conviction of the truth of *his own* inevitable law of history. *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels, 1846-1895* (London, 1934), 354.

"laws" of history. The first great error, underlying the assumption of any laws of history, is to assume that there is only one history revealed to us. History is not just something that has happened once and for all, a series of limited and publicly available facts. To begin with, there are many gaps in our records, so that it is always easier to derive so-called laws where the historical record is scanty. Perhaps for that reason it has been said that "ignorance is the first requisite of the historian," and for the same reason too the so-called scientific historians such as Vico, Montesquieu, Machiavelli, and Marx have been led astray by the limited historical evidence available to them. Many civilizations have come and gone of which we possess only the most fragmentary knowledge. There is little doubt that only Marx's ignorance of the ancient and mediaeval worlds enabled him to make his simple generalizations about them.

Then again, such information of the past as we do possess is heavily weighted in certain directions. Only some types of material were put on record—for instance, legal codes and the chronicles of kings—and even this documentary evidence is often meagre and written to prove a point. The records of archaeology too are of a certain durable kind, so that in reconstructing an early civilization reliance is put on evidence weighted in favour of the material and practical. But a civilization is much more than its artefacts.

Finally and even more important is the fact that the only history we can be aware of is history as we read or select it. At times the information is absent, at others the facts are often too numerous for all to be taken into account. Selection is always personal, and "facts" are not the same to all. Since all historical events are unique, so far as we know, choosing those which are significant or relevant is always difficult, and is invariably carried out in the light of a prior theory or principle of selection.

Yet such a view is not that of sheer scepticism, and is not to say that history is whatever we say it is. The evidence must be scrutinized with care, and above all assessed with intellectual integrity. There is both good and bad written history (aside altogether from literary style) and even though it may be written from different viewpoints it is not all merely agreeable fiction. We are entitled to demand of the historian that he should state his bias and make plain what question he puts to the historical record. If different questions are put different answers will be obtained, and so there is often a gulf between an agreed account of what happened and its interpretation. In short, the only answers we can get from history are those which our questions are designed to elicit, the only meaning we shall find is the meaning we ourselves put into history. Our

question, or meaning, then becomes the principle of selection which determines what things "matter," and how they are interpreted. Marx, like all interpreters of history, was incurably teleological (although he did not think so) when he wrote the story of history and gave it a plot and a climax.

An acute contemporary observer, J. Middleton Murry, in his recent book *The Free Society*, describes his search of history to find something which would give meaning to his existence, which would enable him to integrate his life by showing him where his main duty lay. For a while he was overwhelmed by Marx's vision of history and wrote his early book *The Necessity of Communism* to justify and spread the good tidings. With the passing of the years he lost his enthusiasm, and from a Marxist became a true liberal, realizing that present history can only have a meaning to man in a free society.<sup>2</sup> We can give it a meaning, good or bad, by choosing an end and promoting it. But no account of the past can possibly tell us what we *ought* to do, or what *will* happen. To think otherwise is very much like saying that history is unfolding according to a divine plan, of which we arrogantly claim private knowledge. Any such clue to history by means of which we can know the course and destiny of man on earth is something to be discerned by the eye of faith and is not deducible from a study of economic or any other history.

The ends which men have chosen, i.e., the questions they have asked, or the meanings which they have read into history, are legion. To some, history is the rise and spread of Christianity, tending towards a goal which is variously defined; to Hegel history was the dialectical progression towards freedom in the deified State; to Voltaire the growth of human reason; to others it may be the growth of conscience, or the progress of philosophy, or an ever closer approximation to the truth, or the improvement of man's technology and his command over nature. Often history has been merely an account of power politics, or the record of "the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind," or what Carlyle called "a distillation of rumour." If social conditions are really bad, men may take refuge in a timeless world outside history altogether, something which is a notable feature of oriental mysticism. The Western world has in the main been saved from this, largely because of the keen sense of history in Judaism, which in turn was incorporated into Christianity. Mass mysticism and withdrawal are always tempting, however, in a period of social disintegration or when the verdict of history seems to be going against our cause.

<sup>2</sup>J. Middleton Murry, *The Free Society* (London, 1948).

There are in short as many histories, as many "red threads," as there are interests or beliefs or philosophies. Since there is and can be no one exclusive meaning, the search for a simple formula, a single pattern of law, is futile. That is why the cyclical theories of the Greeks, the organic analogies of Spengler, the challenges and responses of Toynbee, are not publicly verifiable interpretations of all history, but merely suggestive abstractions reflecting the tastes of their inventors or of their times. That is why Marx too, seeking to justify his pattern of the historic class struggle ending in the classless society, is engaged in a metaphysical and non-rational quest. Man is responsible for what happens, not destiny or chance or any economic or social forces, or any other factor external to man himself. The future therefore also depends on ourselves and is not written in the stars or the dialectic.

Marx may retort that his law of history is merely a probability, a generalization based upon a large number of cases. Treated in this way Marxism becomes a working hypothesis which may be tested by the evidence. But it is not a tenable reply for Marx, for two reasons. First, Marx used only three cases—slavery, feudalism, capitalism—of which the first two were examined with so little care they hardly serve to support any kind of generalization. The foundation of the whole law is in fact the one case of capitalism, and hence there is no induction about it; and even this one case, as the evidence plainly shows, has not conformed to the law. Second, Marx was not setting out a cautious statement of probability, a working hypothesis, an extrapolation of social trends prefaced by *ceteris paribus*. He cast the horoscope of capitalism, making no allowance for other trends, and admitting no possibility that the future could take a course other than that which he outlined. The major error behind Marx's dialectic law of history may be summed up by saying that he was merely universalizing his private plans for capitalism.

An essential part of Marx's theory, it will be recalled, is that ideologies are a "reflection" of the economic foundation; that they are merely part of an economically determined superstructure. If this is true, then the second great objection which may be raised is that what Marx had to say was relevant only to nineteenth-century conditions, especially those prevailing at the time he lived and wrote, but is not applicable either to past economic systems or to the future. Marx saw the economic roots of ideology clearly enough in the case of the *bourgeoisie* of his day, and Engels too noted the same thing when he blamed the *bourgeoisie* for identifying generalizations from their own class viewpoint with the eternal laws of nature. Yet what is said about the *bourgeoisie* is equally true of



Marxists. Plekhanov came near to admitting this when he said that Marxist theory could only have come into being when determined by the evolution of capitalist methods of production. Max Beer wrote: "Marxism is quite a natural growth of the revolutionary soil of the first half of the 19th Century"; and J.B.S. Haldane writes today: "Marxism is the best and truest philosophy that could have been provided under the social conditions of the mid-19th Century."<sup>3</sup>

The essential truth of this common criticism of Marxism still holds: the theory itself, that is to say, is economically determined and it is an open question whether another theory will not be thrown up out of another foundation. This objection does not altogether dispose of the broad generalization at the basis of Marx's system, i.e., that economic forces are immensely important in history—a truism which can hardly be denied—but it is a fatal objection to the more specific parts of Marxism and to any determinate predictions. Like all determinist theories Marxism is trapped in its own logic, although Marxists appear to think they themselves are exempt from determinism. The conclusion is inescapable: that Marxism is only true as an abstraction of one of the tendencies at work in the capitalism of the mid-nineteenth century. Or as Marx himself put it, the theory expresses "in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."<sup>4</sup> That was in 1848. When generalized, it becomes a good rationalization of what Marx wanted for the proletariat in the future, and may be a useful guide to the historian or sociologist, but it is a long way from this to a massive interpretation of all history.

The third great objection to Marx's conception of history is his explanation of the course of history by reference to a single factor, the basic proposition of which, as Engels emphasized in his speech at Marx's graveside, is that mankind must eat before it can do anything else.<sup>5</sup> Now this stand is vulnerable on two counts: first, one can explain history just as well by reference to any other single desire of man, such as his sexual instinct, or his will to power. We have even been offered a "syphilitic interpretation" of history. Second, all single-factor explanations of history are open to suspicion, whether the factor is found in man or in nature. If it is found in nature there is the insuperable difficulty of explaining away the

<sup>3</sup>G. V. Plekhanov, *Fundamental Problems of Marxism* (London, 1941), 95; M. Beer, *The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx* (London, 1929), 25; J. B. S. Haldane, *Marxist Philosophy and the Sciences* (London, 1938), 17.

<sup>4</sup>*Communist Manifesto*.

<sup>5</sup>Karl Marx: *Selected Works* (2 vols., London, 1942), I, 16.



different cultures which have flourished in the same geographical environment. If the factor is found in man the obstacle is no less. From the dawn of recorded history man has had the same biological nature as now, but reference to this constant factor will not explain why the same basic "urges" have taken such different forms in the many civilizations. No doubt it is true that the economic foundation has conditioned, or influenced, other social changes; but it is equally true that other changes and factors have conditioned the economic. The rise of industrialism, for example, has taken interestingly different forms in England, the United States, and Japan. Marx and Engels are both on record as noting that the results may differ because of differing circumstances, and the action of man himself. As a student of economic history, Marx wrote: "Thus events strikingly analogous but taking place in different historic surroundings led to totally different results"; and Engels: "Everything which sets men in motion must go through their minds; but what form it will take in the mind will depend very much upon the circumstances."<sup>6</sup> But this modest and sensible attitude is rarely found in Marxist literature, and is quite out of keeping with Marx's implacable laws of history.

There is even serious doubt whether it is possible to isolate the influence of one factor throughout all history. Are not historical causes so complex and interacting that it is in fact impossible to say that most great historical events had a single cause? This seems particularly true when we are trying to analyse the rise and fall of a civilization, and especially when we bear in mind the shortages of historical information on earlier civilizations. Many things contributed to the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, and a long series of steps led up to capitalism, some of them peaceful and some of them not. To take one alleged overriding influence, and by using it impose order upon the complexities of historical change with all their contingencies and imponderables, is only to achieve simplicity by violating the facts. The truth is we simply do not know how some factors, even relatively simple factors such as the physical environment, or the role of leadership, have affected history at different times. An imposed simplification may often be useful, even necessary, but which order is chosen and imposed on the facts will depend on the purpose in hand, and so will have only a special or particular validity. That is one of the reasons why history is always rewritten. What Marx has done is to give his personal order a universal, almost an absolute, validity.

<sup>6</sup>*Selected Works*, I, 459.

The fourth objection is closely allied, and arises from Marx's assumption that history has moved "upward," whether in a straight line or, as the Marxist would prefer to put it, in a spiral by a series of dialectical "leaps." One trouble with this is in the bland assumption that there is something called universal history of which it is possible to trace the direct lineage. Toynbee avoided this mistake neatly enough in his catalogue of civilizations, although even Toynbee's classification is ambiguous, since he was unable to decide exactly how many civilizations he should count, i.e., he deals with specimens which he is unable to identify when he sees them. Marx, like Hegel before him, was concerned only with European history, and his references to other civilizations, whether in the contemporary East or in the ancient world, were seldom more than perfunctory. These civilizations were not, and cannot be, brought into one stream the flow of which may be traced from its source through all its meanderings, until it ends in European industrialism.

The other difficulty is in the idea of progress. Before a discussion of historical progress can be carried on intelligently, some criterion must be laid down. Although hardly any standard which we choose to take would be beyond dispute, nevertheless a plausible case can be made out for progress as measured in certain terms commonly accepted in the Western world. If we could agree on some *objective* standard, such as productivity per capita, then progress could be measured with fair ease. Indeed, Marx's standard of progress, as well as the standard by which he evaluated different cultures, was just that: efficiency in producing goods and services.<sup>7</sup> Not every one, however, would agree that the society with the highest material standard of living is necessarily the best.

We could perhaps take the extension of man's knowledge of nature as progress, and if that is our standard mankind has clearly travelled upward in the last few hundred years. Moreover, as superstition and ignorance with respect to nature have given way to knowledge, we have been able to use that knowledge to cure disease and ease pain, decrease poverty, diffuse education and the arts, lengthen the span of life, and bring into being a vastly increased world population. This was the standard of "verifiable progress" which Walter Bagehot put forward in the last century, and

<sup>7</sup>Sometimes the Marxist standard has been described as freedom for mankind, which in turn involves three factors: (1) increased productivity, (2) collective action, and (3) human development. The first two may be measured, but the third is of course subject to a number of interpretations. Marx once gave a more humorous definition of progress: "Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex (the ugly ones included)." *Selected Correspondence*, 255.

it is perhaps the most plausible of all.<sup>8</sup> Some, perhaps all, of these things would be called good in themselves even by the moral philosopher; if not, at the very least by removing handicaps that formerly existed they have made it more possible for man to lead a good life.

Our knowledge of nature and of man's social behaviour has enabled us more and more to take our personal and collective destiny in hand, and consciously to plan it in many piecemeal directions. This enlargement of our freedom, by enabling us to substitute intelligence and will for drift, seems to be a step forward, since it enables us to build nearer to our heart's desire. All this however is clearly a liberal view of progress, which was on the whole common to Hegel, Marx, and a great majority of nineteenth-century writers. Increases in productivity, knowledge, and freedom would no doubt be dismissed by many high-minded people who would take only an improvement in morals as a sign of progress. In fact, jeers at the idea of progress are very common nowadays. But even with reference to moral standards a plausible case can be made out for progress. Over a portion of the world at least life has grown more tolerant, manners gentler and more kind, laws less harsh; cruelty to men and animals has lessened, "witches" are no longer burned, the standard of public honesty has been raised; we subscribe to the idea that happiness is for the many, not only for the few, and so on. A reading of the social history of ancient Rome, the middle ages in England, or the frontier life of the American West makes out a strong case for progress along these lines. There is of course an obverse side to the medal, and all knowledge may be used for good or evil purposes, but it is hard to believe that any person in the Western world would, after reflecting on the contrast, really prefer life in an earlier age if he had to take his chances then as an ordinary person without special privileges.

But whether this view of progress, or some other, is held does not greatly matter here. Even if it be granted that man has progressed in some parts of the world over the period of recorded history, there is surely no evidence that this progress has been uniform; and there is no law of history which guarantees progress, or guarantees it in any regular sequence. Whatever we believe to constitute progress, we can see in history decline as well as growth, retrogression as well as advance. It is easy to see that the civilizations of Greece had their ups and downs, that Rome also fluctuated, and it would be hard to show that the Dark Ages were an improvement upon Rome

<sup>8</sup>W. Bagehot, *Physics and Politics* (New York, 1912), 208 ff.

at its best, or the Nazi Reich an advance upon the Weimar Republic. History has seen its ebbs as well as its flows, and of this Marx's dialectic takes no account. Many civilizations have come and gone, and there has been no upward continuity by which one civilization has always begun at the peak reached by its predecessor. For all we know our most prized gains may be wiped out almost overnight, and our Western civilization become one with Nineveh and Tyre. There is a fair prospect of such a fate in the near future. Yet if history does not prove a steady progress neither does it confirm pessimism.

The course of history (if we must use that ambiguous phrase) has been influenced by many factors among which the economic have doubtless had their part and an important one. Climate, geography, natural disasters, diseases, great leaders, ideas, and even chance or the length of Cleopatra's nose—all these and many more influences have made events what they have been. The appearance of Marx himself or of Hitler, or the decision of the German general staff to allow Lenin to cross Germany to Russia in 1917, may in a sense all be regarded as accidents. Yet it seems foolish to assert that the course of events in Europe and Russia would have been precisely the same had these men not lived. Engels took the view that when the time was ripe for it the idea *had* to be discovered, and the related view that the great man miraculously appears whenever the circumstances demand him. "That if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled the place, is proved by the fact that the man has always been found as soon as he became necessary."<sup>9</sup> This is clearly untenable, for all that circumstances can create is the opportunity for someone to come to the fore. And what of the times when the idea and the man did not appear? And who is to judge when the man has been necessary? Where, one may ask, was the genius to unite the Greek city states, to save the Roman Empire from collapse, to forestall the rise of Hitler, Mussolini, or Franco, to prevent Stalin's travesty of Marx's more humane dreams, to lead Britain out of the depression of the 1930's, or to bring together in accord the squabbling victors of 1945?

Marx had a part of the truth in stressing the play of technology and economic forces in history. It is an important part of the truth, and in our personal lives we all readily see there is an economic aspect to almost everything we do. Certainly there have been conflicts of many kinds in history, among them class conflicts; some of them fruitful, some not; and doubtless at any one time, there were

<sup>9</sup>*Selected Correspondence*, 518.

and are economic limits within which man's choice must operate. But it will always remain that the most important element in man's history is man himself, when allowance has been made for the economic and all other factors. It was partly because he over-emphasized the limits and underestimated the extent of choice that Marx proved less accurate at prediction than he thought he would be. It was because he read his own presumed meaning into history, and then borrowed Hegel's dialectical law to support it, that he was able to view history as a single track upwards. But it none the less was a pure assumption, a hope, not a proven thesis.

The fifth error in the Marxist theory of history is a great confusion of laws or uniformities of nature with "laws" or trends in society. Over and over again the identity of the two are asserted in Marx's writings. "The forces operating in society work exactly like the forces operating in nature: blindly, violently, destructively, so long as we do not understand them and fail to take them into account." "For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one willed. Thus past history proceeds in the manner of a natural process and is also essentially subject to the same laws of movement."<sup>10</sup> Regardless of man's will and behaviour, there is the same necessity in history as in nature. All we can do, he said, is to choose sides, and by choosing we merely shorten or lengthen to a trifling extent the birth pangs of the coming society. Although this gives us more choice and influence than Marx thought, it still leaves us at the mercy of the modes of production: we are still in the mass mere instruments of fate, carried along by the "blind forces of society."

A full treatment of this subject—the difference between natural science and social "laws"—cannot be attempted here. What Marx and Engels did was to draw (like Bagehot) a misleading and dangerous analogy between physical nature and society. It comes very close to a social Darwinist outlook, although Marx himself usually avoided that absurd extreme.

We must note the implication of Marx's views, that it rules out all possibility of piecemeal social planning, and still more the total planning which Marx himself seems to have had in mind. Yet clearly, we *are* able to form and carry out many public policies: in town planning, taxation, foreign exchange control, etc. Nor is this falsified if we freely admit that in planning parts of society we cannot normally predict all the consequences, and that some of these consequences may be of a kind we did not bargain for. The

<sup>10</sup>*Selected Works*, I, 180, 382.

results merely compel us to take thought, and formulate other plans and further co-ordination. We decide, for example, that in the public interest the school leaving age shall be raised, and as a result of the policy there are unforeseen repercussions upon industry and public finance. We can either deliberately allow these to take their course, or institute further action to take care of the repercussions. To say there is no master plan for everything is not the same thing as saying some things are not planned, when there is agreement on what should be done. Every piece of collective action freely arrived at, whether by private organizations or by the state, enlarges the area of conscious and voluntary decision and by that very fact reduces the sphere to which autonomy and necessity apply. The difference here between Marx and the democrat is that Marx would allow no possibility of substantial reform or social planning until after the revolution. We had better, by God, accept the universe, as Carlyle forcibly put it—although even so we may adapt parts of it to our will—but we are not, within very wide limits, obliged to accept the sway of social forces, and it is what we do within these limits that makes our history.

In the Marxist view mankind is borne along as on a tide, and until Marx came on the scene man could not even see the direction in which he was drifting. In the happy classless society, when the change has been made from private to public ownership, mankind will be absolved from the rule of economic necessity. The magic of the dialectic is summoned to account for the discontinuity, not to say illogicality, of the famous "leap" into freedom.<sup>11</sup>

### III

In view of the fact that Marxism makes so much of iron laws both in nature and society, it is pertinent to ask in what sense is man "free" in the Marxist version of history? The answer is somewhat ambiguous, and so must be broken down into its parts. First, there is the Hegelian answer that "freedom is the recognition of necessity," in the familiar sense that "stone walls do not a prison make." We must, that is, recognize the pattern of history, and if we do this consciously we are free, since willing obedience to a recognized law is the definition of freedom in Hegel.

<sup>11</sup>There is a special difficulty about the Hegelian and the Marxist dialectic of history. In both, a point is reached when the dialectic ceases operation, when the laws of past history no longer apply, the Moving Finger having writ, stops writing. It has been suggested that this apocalyptic note is a heritage from Christianity, which has always emphasized a final judgment or an "ultimate" end to man's history on earth.



There is of course a perfectly common-sense truth to this, in that restraints voluntarily accepted do not make us feel that we are slaves. But both Hegel and Marx meant more than that. As I have been concerned to show, there is in fact no such objective pattern of the movement of events in history to which we must "freely" adjust ourselves. It is an entirely false and fatalistic analogy that is drawn for us by Hegel and Marx, between adjusting ourselves to history and to the forces of nature. This meaning of freedom is therefore spurious and must be rejected whether it comes to us in Hegelian idealism or in Marxist economic terms.

Secondly, the Hegelian meaning in practice involves submission to authority. One is not compelled to submit to "forces" in society, but to specific authorities, usually to persons, with the sanctions of law or other power behind them. Thus in the Hegelian system, the submission was to whatever authority represented for the time being the logically necessary stage of history, which to Hegel meant submission to the Prussian state. Then somehow, by some miraculous and obfuscating piece of verbal juggling, a man becomes more free by submission than by following his own judgment. Just as with Rousseau, whose General Will was always right, and wiser than the individual, it is only a short step to saying that one may be "forced to be free."

Thirdly, there may also be in the Hegelian-Marxist meaning a more subtle scholastic flavour, a hint of the same connotation given to the word freedom by St. Thomas Aquinas when he spoke of the freedom enjoyed by angels and saints who "necessarily but freely choose the good." Now this may be valid for angels and saints (although it would be a proposition difficult to establish by evidence) but when it is applied instead to human beings it can become dangerous doctrine. If it becomes the doctrine that men are free to accept what the party or state or any other authority teaches, but are not free to reject it according to their own weighing of the evidence, then the scholastic and Hegelian paradox becomes a monstrous bondage which free men everywhere must resist so long as they claim title to humanity.

These meanings of freedom in Hegel and Marx are not acceptable to a democrat. There is only one trivial sense in which the Marxist definition of freedom is unobjectionable: before we can use nature we must first understand her laws, to control her we must submit to her ways; and to this may be added that only if we have reliable information about social phenomena can we together live the kind of lives we want, or carry out successfully the social, political, and

economic measures at which we aim. Perhaps it is only some such simple meaning that Marx had in mind when he asserted that the classless society would be for humanity "the realm of freedom." Certainly Marx believed that it would be easy to carry out economic planning under public ownership. He also believed that man was free in his leisure time, and hence that the shortening of the working day was a prerequisite to freedom for the workers. It is true that since wealth gives a greater freedom of choice and action, so a rise in the general standard of living will, other things being equal, enlarge the area of choice for all. Hobson's choice, between starvation and obedience to authority, will be removed. But those notions are commonplace, and owe nothing to Marxism.

The proviso that other things should be equal is important, since it by no means follows that large-scale economic planning will of itself lead to freedom for the individual in any real sense. The Nazi Reich was a planned state but by no stretch of the imagination could it be called a free society, while in the U.S.S.R. planning and freedom certainly do not go together. But there is no need to labour the point, since Marxism has little enough to say on the classless society, except a few vague generalizations, and nothing to contribute to our idea of freedom.

There is one other feature of Marx's inexorable march of the dialectic in history which deserves comment: to what extent is Marxism a philosophy of fatalism? At first sight it seems utterly fatalistic, at least up to the point of the revolution. History is rolling along its predestinate, dialectical groove, and it would seem illogical that we should stir a finger to help. It may be illogical even to speak of helping or hindering, since our conscious decisions scarcely matter. But although illogical it is psychologically quite understandable, and psychology is more important than logic if one wishes to tap the springs of action. If we make our prior value judgment, first deciding how we want history to go, then it often seems to encourage us if we also believe strongly that history is inevitably going our way. That seems to have been the case with Cromwell and the Mohammedans (as cited by Plekhanov), with the Calvinists, and many others. The idea that God is on our side and victory is certain may stimulate people to greater effort and does not always, although it may sometimes, lead to fatalism. In Marx, and this is partly the secret of his appeal, the moral and the inevitable, the desired and the necessary, are hopelessly mixed. He emphatically did not believe in letting the stars in their courses alone; he was not only a prophet but he was also a fighter, who drew strength



from the belief that the future he so passionately desired was also coming with relentless certainty. Something like the same identification is made by modern Marxists when they speak of "the need for inevitable change."

Hegel tended to make an identity of the ideal with the actual reality of the German State: Marx on the other hand identified the ideal with the actuality that was inevitably coming after the revolution. Hegel's was for the most part the morality of the *status quo*, the identification of might and right. Marx's is a kind of moral "futurism."<sup>12</sup>

Why did Marx make this confusion of the moral and necessary? The first part of the answer is of course his Hegelianism, with its fusion of the morally, the logically, and the historically necessary. The second part is that Marx was a man of action who desperately wanted to change the world. By allying the historical law of necessary victory with the realization of his ideals he forged a powerful propaganda weapon and put heart and fight into the proletariat (or at any rate into the Marxists among them). The future they longed for was decreed in the stars and they would fight twice as well for being cheered with the prospect of certain victory. It is the old story of God helping those who help themselves. In that fight there must be slogans and "myths": the idea of the class struggle is such a sociological myth, comparable, say, to Sorel's "general strike," or to some of the myths and stereotypes of democracy. The idea of class struggle contains also enough of the elements of will and choice to make the fight a real one instead of leading to a passive waiting on victory. Dialectical necessity is the other facet of the same myth, for it is this in Marxism which will *make* the revolution come true. The truth or falsity of the myth is thus irrelevant: it is like Shaw's definition of a miracle in *St. Joan*: "an event which confirms or creates faith."

The third part of the answer is that Marx was, as we have seen, deeply imbued with the idea of inevitable progress, so common to the Enlightenment and to the nineteenth century; he was doubly imbued, for he owed a debt to Hegel and later also to Darwin. In addition, it was hard to see how anything in the future could possibly be worse than the society of Marx's day; any change was almost bound to be an improvement over the distressing social effects of early industrialization in England.

If the Marxist system is so disastrously determinist, in so far as it abides by its own iron laws, and yet allows for freedom in so far as it

<sup>12</sup>Cf. K. R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (2 vols., London, 1945), II.

is permeated by a moral idea, how is it that a philosophy so inconsistent has gained a hold over the minds and allegiance of men? The answer is hinted at in the question, it is precisely the moral appeal behind the determinism which is its greatest strength.

Let us make no mistake about this. On the surface Marx made a great show of being scientific, of hating all sentimentality, preaching, and uplift propaganda. Underneath he was a more than usually sensitive nineteenth-century liberal with a passion for freedom, justice, and equality, and filled with invincible optimism for the future of man on the earth.<sup>13</sup> For that reason Marxism has been called the illegitimate offspring of nineteenth-century liberalism. Like all social radicals Marx was close to being a moral idealist. He started with the conviction that capitalism was evil and must be destroyed. His moral quality is shown not only in the high standards of his personal and family life, and in his scorn for those who had not the same self-discipline, but also in the moral judgments which run sometimes implicitly, often explicitly, through all the vast pile of his writings, the whole of which may be justly regarded as treatises on social ethics. If anyone doubts this, let him reread the more emotional sections of the *Communist Manifesto*, or pick up *Capital* almost at random and read the footnotes.

Marx reached a white heat of moral indignation at the hypocrisy and callousness of capitalism, the "human self-estrangement," the degradation of labour to the status of a commodity. His attacks on religion were to a great extent derived from this moral judgment. The churches, as he saw them, when judged by their actions and not by their pious words were on the side of the big battalions and the *bourgeoisie*; and religion, even when appealing to the poor, distracted their attention from the shame of their earthy exploitation. The end of the classless society, too, is moral: to make possible a life of freedom and equality in which the dignity of labour is fittingly appreciated and personality can freely develop. Marx never won during his lifetime the popular acclaim which he believed his intellectual genius entitled him to, nor was he able to achieve any position of real power in public affairs. His burning and frustrated ambitions pushed him on, and reinforced the demands which he made, on more general grounds, for justice in the future. The Marxist challenge to democracy is, in the end, the challenge to build a just social order.

Marx, then, was by instinct and by his sense of injustice on the side of the angels. Hence he has been classified with the Children of

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Jack Lindsay, *Marxism and Contemporary Science* (London, 1949), 196.

Light and not with the Children of Darkness.<sup>14</sup> It is a pity that his Hegelian heritage and his fanatic zeal led him into dialectical dogma. It is a cosmic tragedy, because of the power which they wield, that his followers in Russia have adopted the dogma, ignored the underlying humanity in Marx, and clamped an iron discipline of belief on the minds of men. Marx himself as he grew older showed some signs of modifying his iron laws and softening his determinism. When he contemplated some of the more extreme and absurd theories produced in his name (which yet only put bluntly the logic of his own economic determinism) he used to say: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>R. Niebuhr, *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (New York, 1944).

<sup>15</sup>*Selected Correspondence*, 472.

## GENERAL TRADE BETWEEN QUEBEC AND FRANCE DURING THE FRENCH REGIME

ALLANA G. REID

THERE can be no question but that the widespread belief in the value and importance of the Canadian fur trade, as compared with any other branch of colonial commerce, is a true one. From the days of Champlain to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the fur trade, with all its complicated mechanisms and its disconcerting fluctuations, dominated the economic life of New France. Yet it would be wrong to assume that the fur trade was the only essential element in the external commercial life of the colony. As the population grew and settlement expanded, as the financial capital of the Canadian merchants became larger, as agricultural, lumber, and industrial products increased beyond subsistence level, New France came to be more and more capable of supporting a general exchange of merchandise with the mother country. Moreover, such an exchange of merchandise was of the greatest importance to all concerned. The mercantilist theories prevalent in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made it inevitable that Canadian masts and boards, tar and hemp, wheat and fish should be preferred to similar products from foreign countries; while the prohibition of trade between New France and the English colonies to the south strengthened the reliance of the colonies upon the mother country for manufactured goods and non-Canadian products.

Unfortunately a number of obstacles, both avoidable and unavoidable, prevented this trade between Canada and France from reaching its full potentialities. First and foremost among these must come the Canadian climate, thanks to which the truly excellent harbour at Quebec was rendered useless for an average of six months every year. In actual fact, although ships were known to get up the river early in May and to stay until December, it was only from the first of June to the end of October that entrance into the Quebec harbour was absolutely certain. This simple climatic fact had important results. In the first place, it meant that only one round trip a year could be made between Canada and France, thus reducing immensely the profits to be gained from the Canadian trade and adding proportionately to storage expenses. In the second place, the shortness of the trading season made the time element

of supreme importance in all freightage arrangements. Since the journey across the Atlantic might take anywhere up to four months, and since the loading and unloading at Quebec necessitated a sojourn of a few weeks in the harbour, it was absolutely essential that ships should leave France for Canada by April at the very latest.<sup>1</sup> Everyone admitted the overwhelming importance of an early departure, but it was easier to admit than to achieve it. Inefficient clerks, slowness in the delivery of merchandise, troubles in finding crews and equipment for the ships, financial difficulties, and every imaginable kind of commercial tangle, combined year after year to hinder the sending of ships for Canada until June, and even July.<sup>2</sup> Such delays might have disastrous results in time of war, but even in peace, late sailings meant additional dangers from storms, too short a time for reloading at Quebec, and serious risks of being ice-bound in the river. In very extreme cases, it became necessary to abandon the idea of going to Quebec altogether, and New France was then deprived of valuable shiploads of goods.<sup>3</sup>

To the hazards of ice were added a variety of other natural hindrances to trade. The storms, winds, and fogs of the Atlantic, which crippled and often destroyed the small sailing ships of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the sandbars, rocks, and currents of the lower St. Lawrence, which even skilled pilots could not always avoid, these left in their wake a record of shipwrecks and loss which might have discouraged the most ardent mercantilist.<sup>4</sup> No exact statistics can be offered as to the amount of such damage, but as early as 1715, D'Auteuil estimated that during the previous twenty-five years, Canada had lost three and a half million livres' worth of goods by shipwreck alone.<sup>5</sup> Since this did not include most of the major shipwrecks of which the records speak, it would seem fair to conclude that bad weather and bad navigation were very important elements in reducing the volume of Canadian trade.

<sup>1</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Mélanges Colbert*, vol. 151B, De Terron to Seignelay, La Rochelle, April 22, 1669; Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 78, Minister to Massiot, Versailles, April 30, 1691; vol. 220, Minister to Hocquart, Versailles, Feb. 12, 1740.

<sup>2</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Manuscrits Français*, vol. 22804, Bégon to Villermont, La Rochelle, May 24, 1694; Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B1, vol. 31, Instructions to Saujon, June 23, 1706; vol. 66, Lavilleau to Minister, Brest, April 27, 1753.

<sup>3</sup>For example, Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 228, Minister to Beauharnois, Paris, Aug. 12, 1711.

<sup>4</sup>For example, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Mélanges Colbert*, vol. 160, Frontenac to Colbert, on the high seas, July 22, 1672; Public Archives of Canada, Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 64, Hocquart to Minister, Quebec, Sept. 2, 1735.

<sup>5</sup>P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 34, D'Auteuil to Minister, Paris, 1715.

To these inevitable and practically permanent troubles of climate, navigation, distance, and time, were added other obstacles. In times of war, of course, there was always the danger of capture by the enemy, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a constant succession of wars between England, France, and Spain, each one of which was responsible for the loss of large quantities of French shipping.<sup>6</sup> By 1744 the *Chambre de Commerce* of Bordeaux was writing in despair to the king's minister, "Les négociants succombent sous le poids des pertes qui les accablent; chaque jour nous aprenons de nouvelles prises de nos vaisseaux. Les armements pour nos colonies cessent, tout est suspendu, l'émulation est éteint, la confiance perdu et le crédit aneanty."<sup>7</sup> Even when peace reigned officially in Europe, ships were not secure on the seas, for English and American pirates kept up an illegal, but none the less devastating warfare against French ships. From the moment a ship passed the Ile de Rhé, off La Rochelle, to the moment it sighted the Ile d'Orléans, off Quebec, it was in constant peril of capture.<sup>8</sup> To combat this menace, French authorities struggled valiantly to give convoy protection to Canadian-bound ships, and many of the merchantmen that reached Quebec owed their safety to the king's aid.<sup>9</sup> But, unfortunately, it was quite impossible to make the supply equal the demand. The death of Colbert and the great wars of Louis XIV removed the inspiration for naval development, and the early eighteenth century was characterized by a rapid decline in the French navy. Hence, time and time again, the Intendants of Marine were forced to allow unconvoysed ships to run the risk of sailing to Quebec simply because they could not provide the necessary protection.<sup>10</sup> It was probably this, more than any other single factor, that contributed to the fall of New France, for, because the English controlled the Atlantic, Quebec lost her life-blood of goods and munitions without which New France could not maintain the

<sup>6</sup>One of the best examples of this is the capture of the ship *La Seine* with Bishop St. Vallier on board in 1704. Juchereau (Mère St. Ignace), *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, ed. A. Jamet (Quebec, 1939), 315-6.

<sup>7</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 7, Director of *Chambre de Commerce* to Minister, Bordeaux, Sept. 5, 1744.

<sup>8</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationales, *Mélanges Colbert*, vol. 145, Duc de Beaufort to Colbert, La Rochelle, Sept. 26, 1667; *Manuscrits Français*, vol. 22804, Bégon to Villermont, La Rochelle, Dec. 14, 1694.

<sup>9</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 78, King to Bégon, Paris, April 4, 1691; vol. 216, Minister to Levasseur, Versailles, July 24, 1709; P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 36, King to De Voutron, Paris, May 4, 1716.

<sup>10</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Mélanges Colbert*, vol. 174B, La Chesnaye to Bellinzary, La Rochelle, June 18, 1677; Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B3, vol. 209, Bigot de la Motthe to Minister, Nantes, May 17, 1725.

unequal struggle against the powerful English colonies to the south.<sup>11</sup>

In view of these numerous difficulties and dangers, it is almost a miracle that anyone, beyond avaricious fur merchants, showed any interest at all in the trade with New France. True, these fur traders did provide the main impetus to the economic life of the colony, but they were by no means without competition or additional resources. Under the supervision of the king and his chief ministers, aided by the Conseil de Commerce, and supervised by the Chambre de Commerce in each port, there developed a thriving general trade, the arrangements and techniques of which were as diverse as the goods exchanged.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were many merchants, both Canadian and French, who owned ships or half-ships and, either on their own responsibility or with the assistance of a friend, despatched their ships, loaded with assorted merchandise, to Quebec. There, either in person or through representatives, they sold the cargo, bought whatever return goods were available, and returned to France. Exactly how many traders followed this method of exchange, it is difficult to say owing to gaps in the port records. We do know, however, that in 1749, fourteen private merchantmen came from Bordeaux to Quebec, eight from La Rochelle, and one from Nantes. Five years later, in 1754, Bordeaux was represented by twenty-one ships, nine of which were privately owned, La Rochelle again sent eight, and Bayonne and Le Havre one each. Trade was reasonably prosperous and the merchants easy to persuade into undertaking the voyage to New France.<sup>12</sup>

This simple method of trading was capable of all sorts of variations. Canadian merchants arranging for shipments to and from France might be compelled to employ agents there to buy or sell on commission, thus necessitating a considerable amount of financial juggling.<sup>13</sup> This process could, of course, be easily reversed and the

<sup>11</sup>Wm. Wood, *The Fight for Canada* (Boston, 1906), chap. v, *passim*; pp. 410-11.

<sup>12</sup>La Rochelle, Archives de la Charente-Inférieure, Etudes Menon, Minutes Grozé, 1681-96, Contract of freight by Déspoires and Dubose, Dec. 24, 1687; Sale of ships by Bernon to Leber, April 5, 1690; Archives de l'Amirauté, Numéros Provisoires, vol. 166, Purchase and armament of ships by Bonfils, La Rochelle, 1757; Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 1, Mémoire by merchants of La Rochelle, La Rochelle, Jan. 22, 1734.

<sup>13</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Série F12, vol. 73, Minutes of Conseil de Commerce, June 27, 1726; Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 1, Mémoire of La Rochelle merchants to Chambre de Commerce, Jan. 22, 1734; vol. 2, "Tableau du départ des navires marchands de divers ports pour les colonies d'Amérique, 1749-55."



Canadian merchant receive a commission for selling a cargo at Quebec and for collecting a return load.<sup>14</sup> At times, a friendly trading association might crystallize into a formal partnership in which two or three men undertook each to pay a certain percentage of the capital and receive an equal proportion of the profits.<sup>15</sup> These partnerships were not necessarily confined to French merchants, for a Canadian member of the team might make himself most useful in buying and selling at Quebec. Occasionally, the French merchants might be, in fact, only mouthpieces for men of more elevated status, since royal officials and Paris bankers might be unable to take an active part in despatching ships to Canada and yet be only too pleased to foot the bills and collect the profits.<sup>16</sup> But whatever peculiarities these various trading associations might have, they were all characterized by short-term agreements, by direct commercial transactions, and by relatively simple financial arrangements.

The second type of trading association was, in effect, a partnership between the king and his subjects. Like the private partnership, this could be worked out in a number of ways. Every year the king sent out to Quebec at least one ship, sometimes three or four, loaded with supplies for the army, the hospitals, and the fur trade. Frequently, however, these supplies did not occupy all the space in the ships and the French merchants were allowed to fill the gaps with their own merchandise.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, it might happen that the royal ships available in a certain year were inadequate to transport all the king's goods to Quebec, and that the merchantmen had unfilled space which the king might rent for a specific payment, or acquire in return for a favour or concession.<sup>18</sup> There were occasions, too, when the king was only too happy to hand over the freighting

<sup>14</sup>P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série B, vol. 61, pt. 1, Minister to Beauharnois and Hocquart, Versailles, April 20, 1734; La Rochelle, Amiraute, Série B, vol. 230, Jan. 12, 1758.

<sup>15</sup>La Rochelle, Etudes Menon, Minutes Grozé, 1681-96, Freighting of three ships by La Rochelle merchants, April 5, 1690; Amiraute, Série B, vol. 250, Declaration of La Rochelle merchants, June 12, 1743.

<sup>16</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 30, King to Officers of Admiralty Court at Honfleur, Versailles, Feb. 12, 1675; La Rochelle, Numéros Provisoires, vol. 109, Envoi des navires au Canada, 1684; vol. 111, *ibid.*, 1696; *ibid.*, 1708.

<sup>17</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 127, Minister to Bégon, Fontainebleau, Oct. 15, 1697; Archives des Colonies, Série F1A, vol. 22, Fonds pour le Canada, Rochefort, Feb. 19, 1722.

<sup>18</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 78, Minister to Bégon, Versailles, April 25, 1691; Série B3, vol. 156, Champigny to Minister, Le Havre, June 26, 1706.



of the royal merchantmen to some competent traders, for in this way goods could be shipped to Canada with a minimum of trouble to royal officials and the treasury supplemented by the rent of the vessel or a cut in the profits.<sup>19</sup>

As well as these comparatively simple trading techniques there were more complicated companies and large-scale associations. In the seventeenth century, such large groups were confined entirely to the fur trade, but as colonial trade expanded it was only natural that the private merchant of a small partnership should be replaced more and more by associations of traders, some of whom took little active share in the transactions beyond contributing part of the capital and receiving their share of the profits. The Toulon merchants who freighted the *Rubis* and the *Téméraire* in 1711, the traders of St. Jean de Luz who despatched the *Perdrix* and the *St. François* in 1745, the thirty La Rochelle citizens who sent the *St. Joseph* to Quebec in 1752, are all examples of these joint-stock companies.<sup>20</sup> But the biggest and best known of them all was the Gradis-Bigot-Bréard association which lasted from 1748 to 1760. Beginning simply as a partnership in which the Gradis firm of Bordeaux owned 50 per cent of the capital, Bigot, Intendant of New France, 30 per cent, and Bréard, Controller of Marine at Quebec, 20 per cent,<sup>21</sup> the association grew increasingly vicious until it came to hold a virtual monopoly on Canadian trade. By 1755 it was estimated that Bréard, in association with various individuals, controlled at least fourteen ships trading with the colonies, and by 1758 the Gradis firm, with its satellites, were despatching 604,500 livres worth of goods to Quebec. To consolidate the monopoly, ships belonging to the Société accosted private merchantmen in the Gulf and bought up their cargoes. With the connivance of the Intendant, the Grande Société found it easy to evade custom duties, ignore ceiling prices, and cheat both the king and the Canadian habitant. Thanks to these machinations, about twenty Quebec merchants raised themselves into the millionaire class during the last decade of the French régime, and the traders of Bordeaux

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, Série B2, vol. 30, King to Demarin, Versailles, Oct. 18, 1675; vol. 206, Minister to Bégon, Versailles, March 7, 1708; vol. 237, Minister to Beauharnois, Versailles, April 17, 1714.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, Série B3, vol. 200, De Vauvray to Minister, Toulon, Nov. 15, 1711; Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 1, Merchants of St. Jean de Luz to Minister, St. Jean de Luz, Aug. 28, 1745; La Rochelle, Minutes Teulleron, Liasse 1761, Jan. 12, 1752.

<sup>21</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, vol. 22253, Articles convenus entre Messrs. Bigot et Bréard . . . et les Srs. David Gradis, Bordeaux, July 10, 1748.

attained a new supremacy in Canadian trade. To say that the Grande Société was instrumental in causing the fall of New France is probably unfair and untrue, but it certainly did its share in damaging private trade, in creating an artificial inflation and shortage of supplies, and in undermining the morale and patriotism of the inhabitants.<sup>22</sup> Fortunately, however, the Grande Société seems to have been a unique example of large-scale capitalistic robbery in the trade between France and Quebec.

Once the type of business association had been decided and arranged the merchants in France were all faced with similar problems of freighting ships for Canada. Before the ships could sail, a good deal of work had to be done. First, the merchandise had to be collected. This meant bringing to the ports a great variety of goods, at the lowest possible prices, not an easy task in an age of frequent wars and difficult travel. The wines and brandies of Bordeaux, the grain from the Loire valley, the manufactures from Paris, the military and naval supplies from the arsenals of Rochefort and Brest, had all to be collected in the ports along the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel.<sup>23</sup> Foreign goods, while not allowed to be shipped directly to New France, formed a very useful source of export by way of France. Salt meat from Ireland, iron from Sweden, cloth from England, copper from Spain, and all sorts of luxury goods derived from prize ships, might be and often were loaded on ships for Canada.<sup>24</sup> The extent to which New France depended on trade with France for all its manufactured goods and many of its raw materials is quite astounding. Wines and vinegar, olives and soap, candles and string, guns and bolts of cloth, pipes and window-glass, trunks and stockings—everything and anything that a civilized person might require left La Rochelle for Quebec.<sup>25</sup> The actual value of French shipments to Canada varied greatly with the fluctuations of economic prosperity and the difficulties of war, and official sources are far from unanimous as to what the exact figures should be. It

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, *Mémoire re commerce* by Choiseul, Paris, 1762; A. J. E. Lunn, "Economic Development of New France, 1713-60" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill, 1942), 379; *Quebec Archives Report*, 1923-4, 369, *Journal de Bougainville*, Sept. 2-4, 1758.

<sup>23</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits Français, vol. 8029, Colbert to Seignelay, Paris, 1671; Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 168, Minister to Bégon, Versailles, May 16, 1703; vol. 328, Minister to La Jonquière, Versailles, April 25, 1746.

<sup>24</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F2, vol. 1, Chambre de Commerce to Minister, La Rochelle, Dec. 15, 1731; Archives Nationales, Série F12, *Délibérations du Chambre de Commerce*, June 12, 1748.

<sup>25</sup>La Rochelle, Amiraute, *Numeros Provisoires*, vol. 98, *Rôle d'Equipages des Navires*, 1679; vol. 101, *ibid.*, 1684; vol. 156, *Déclaration de la cargaison*, 1747; P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 31, *Mémoire sur le Canada*, 1710; vol. 45, Vaudreuil and Bégon to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 14, 1723.

seems sufficient to say that during the first half of the eighteenth century the volume and value of the trade going from France to New France practically doubled, until by 1743 it was estimated at a value of 2,583,406 livres.<sup>26</sup>

Once the goods had been gathered at the ports ready for shipment, certain last-minute adjustments and formalities were necessary. Marine insurance was most vital in that age of pirates and small ships, and the Compagnie Générale d'Assurance of Paris must have done a flourishing business. In peacetime, rates seem to have been stabilized at 3 or 4 per cent, but wartime risks sent premiums skyrocketing to 40 or even 60 per cent.<sup>27</sup> Declarations of freightage had to be deposited in the Admiralty office and passports obtained by which merchandise might be landed legally at Quebec. No export duties or port dues were exacted from ships bound for New France, and everything possible was done to make it easy to freight ships.<sup>28</sup>

It is extremely difficult to know exactly how many shiploads of goods did go every year from the ports of France to Quebec. Some of them went by way of the French West Indies, while others shortened their journey by going in to Louisbourg and there transferring their goods to small crafts sent from New France. In normal times the number of merchantmen sailing from France to Quebec ranged from eight to twenty-five annually, the maximum being reached in 1755 when the frantic appeals of the king brought forty-five trading vessels into the Quebec harbour.<sup>29</sup> It must be remembered that this did not represent the total number of ships anchored at Quebec, since trade with the French West Indies and with Louisbourg almost equalled that with France. In size, the ships from Europe ranged from the 40-ton *Louise*, belonging to the Sieur Bourguine, to the 500-ton *La Chimère* owned by the Pascaud brothers, though the great majority were between 100 and 300 tons.<sup>30</sup> The predominance of ships from La Rochelle, so marked in the seven-

<sup>26</sup>Lunn, "Economic Development of New France," 477, Appendix, Canadian Export and Import Trade.

<sup>27</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B3, vol. 173, *Le Vaseur* to Minister, Marseilles, Oct. 14, 1709; La Rochelle, Amiraute, Série B, vol. 5748, April 23, 1759; *Numeros Provisoires*, vol. 167, *Reglements*, 1759.

<sup>28</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Série F12, vol. 51, *Délibérations du Conseil de Commerce*, Sept. 16, 1705; Série E, vol. 504B, *Arrêt du Conseil*, May 10, 1677; Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 248, Minister to Beauharnois, Paris, June 5, 1717.

<sup>29</sup>A. G. Reid, "The Development and Importance of the town of Quebec, 1608-1760" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill, 1950), 185, 194-5; Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 2, "Tableau du départ des navires marchands . . . , 1749-55."

<sup>30</sup>La Rochelle, Amiraute, Série B, vols. 247-59, *passim*, *Registres de soumission*, 1727-58.

teenth century, disappeared gradually during the eighteenth, and by 1740 ships from Bordeaux were well in the lead, but none of the western or northern ports of France ignored the Canadian trade completely, for the records of the eighteenth century contain frequent references to merchantmen from Le Havre and Rouen, St. Malo, Nantes, Honfleur, and St. Jean de Luz. Even Marseilles, so far from the North Atlantic seaboard, occasionally had commercial dealings with Quebec.<sup>31</sup>

As soon as the ships were anchored in the Quebec harbour, the captains and owners, or their representatives, were faced with certain formalities. Within twenty-four hours of their arrival, a complete and detailed declaration of all goods on board had to be handed to the Bureau du Domaine located in the Intendant's Palace at Quebec.<sup>32</sup> On the basis of this declaration, the import duties were assessed, although during most of the French régime, in an effort to encourage trade with Canada, only wines, brandies, tobacco, and some dry goods were subject to a tax.<sup>33</sup> After 1748, the poverty of the French treasury necessitated the levying of a general tax of 3 per cent *ad valorem* on all Canadian imports except salt and rope, thus sending prices up and adding to the general confusion of the period.<sup>34</sup> In theory, all duties were payable before the landing licence was granted, but, in fact, this was practically impossible to enforce, since no time could be lost in unloading the ships and frequently the merchants did not have the money to pay the duties until they had sold their goods.<sup>35</sup> Given time, however, they do seem eventually to have paid their debts to the king, since few complaints can be found of large-scale evasions.<sup>36</sup>

As soon as the merchandise could be landed, it was taken to one of the warehouses in the Lower Town. The "Magasin du Roy," into

<sup>31</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 2, Tableau du départ des navires marchands, 1749-55; vol. 11, Bâtiments venus à Québec, 1739; Archives de la Marine, Série B3, vol. 173, Le Vasseur to Minister, Marseilles, Oct. 14, 1709; Archives de la Guerre, Série A1, vol. 3467, Doreil to Minister, Quebec, Aug. 15, 1757.

<sup>32</sup>*Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain* (Quebec, 1885), I, 7, Sept. 26, 1663; P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 64, Hocquart to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 7, 1735; Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série A, vol. 21, Ordinance of King, April 20, 1745.

<sup>33</sup>P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 42, Arrêt du Roy, Dec. 11, 1717.

<sup>34</sup>*Edits et ordonnances royales*, ed. W. B. Lindsay (Quebec, 1854), I, 588, 609, Arrêt du Roy, Jan. 23, 1747; March 6, 1748.

<sup>35</sup>P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 66, Mémoire sur le Domaine d'Occident, 1741; vol. 101, pt. 1, Cugnet to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 16, 1741.

<sup>36</sup>H. A. Innis, *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1497-1793* (Toronto, 1929), 419, Hocquart to Minister, Quebec, Aug. 27, 1731; Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B2, vol. 161, Minister to Director of Compagnie du Canada, Versailles, May 6, 1702.

which went all goods brought over on royal ships or purchased by the king for the army or the Indian trade, stood near the site of the old Habitation, on the north side of the Lower Town square. But it was not big enough to accommodate private merchandise, and so French and Canadian importers were forced to provide themselves with their own storage quarters. The Jesuits were the earliest of the religious orders to build themselves a storehouse in the Lower Town, but the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Montreal soon followed suit.<sup>37</sup> Private traders bought up what land they could find along the water's edge and equipped themselves with "plusieurs grands et beaux magasins . . . de belle et bonne pierre."<sup>38</sup> During the era of the Grande Société, Bigot and his companions operated a rival institution to the Magasin du Roy which, by reason of its nefarious dealings, was popularly known as "La Friponne." There remained the problem of the infrequent trader who could not afford, or did not wish to be encumbered with, permanent headquarters at Quebec. To serve all such, it was suggested that a large general warehouse should be built to which anyone might bring the produce he wished to sell and receive in turn the merchandise he needed.<sup>39</sup> But the proposal came to nothing, probably because of the jealousy of the important merchants who were fortunate enough to possess the necessary trading equipment and were anxious to add to their incomes by renting storage space.

For one month after its arrival in Quebec, the merchandise remained in the warehouse, unless it was specifically owned and imported by Montreal merchants, and since most of the traders who did business in Montreal were either factors or customers of those in Quebec, this was not often the case. While in Quebec, the goods might be sold retail to any habitant who wished to buy, and one-tenth of the total quantity might be sold wholesale to small merchants or storekeepers. When the month had elapsed, the supplies which remained might be divided, one half being sold wholesale or retail in the city and district of Quebec, the other half being loaded on to small boats and taken up the river for sale at Montreal or Three Rivers. Considering that the best part of the imports was likely to be sold during the first month at Quebec, and that extra transportation increased the selling prices in Montreal, the citizens

<sup>37</sup>P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 1, Arrêt du Roy, March 5, 1648; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), XIX, 67, Le Jeune's Relation of 1640.

<sup>38</sup>Baron La Hontan, "Ebauche d'un projet pour enlever Kebec et Plaisance," 1696, in *The Oakes Collection*, P.A.C. Publication (Ottawa, 1940), 46.

<sup>39</sup>P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 5, Duchesneau to Minister, Quebec, Nov. 13, 1681; vol. 8, Riverin to Minister, Quebec, Feb. 7, 1686.

there might well feel that they had some cause for grievance. But there was no alternative, for, as the Intendant Champigny remarked, "Le Montréal est obligé de tirer de Québec toutes les choses dont il a besoin de celles qui viennent de France."<sup>40</sup>

The method of payment for the imported goods varied considerably. Whenever possible, the direct exchange of imports for exports was preferred, but, because of the unfavourable balance of Canadian exports, it was impossible to depend solely on the exchange of commodities. The small amount of specie available in the colony made payment in cash difficult and unpopular, and, since the card money which passed for currency in the colony was of no value elsewhere, importers had generally to be paid by promissory notes, known as bills of exchange, drawn on the royal treasury, the fur company, or important business houses in France. The various postponements of payment for these bills of exchange by the royal government, and the subsequent inflation at the end of the French régime, was one more factor contributing to the final collapse of Canadian economy.

The length of time that the ships from France spent at Quebec varied from one to four months, depending on the lateness of their arrival, the exports available for shipment, the health of the crew, and the number of business transactions in which the merchant was engaged. The activities of these French traders in Quebec were the cause of much heartburning on the part of the resident merchants whose prices they could undercut. But the king, true to his idea of encouraging Canadian trade, refused to listen to the jealous complaints of the Quebecers, and French merchants continued to enjoy protection and privileges during the summer months.<sup>41</sup>

By September the departure of the trading ships became imminent. Repairs had been completed, stores of food had been bought for the journey home, goods had been loaded on the ships, and declarations of export deposited at the Bureau du Domaine.<sup>42</sup> Throughout most of the French régime, exports from Canada were free except for the taxes on furs. Only in 1748, when expenses were soaring sky-high, did the king impose an export duty of 3 per cent on Canadian goods, but the list of exceptions was so formidable that it seems improbable the duties did much to improve the state of royal finances.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 15, Champigny to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 13, 1699.

<sup>41</sup>*Jugements et délibérations*, II, 56-7, 861, March 23, 1676, Feb. 1, 1683; P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 36, King to Voutron, Paris, May 4, 1716; vol. 42, Vaudreuil and Bégon to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 26, 1720.

<sup>42</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F1A, vol. 27, Expenses of *Le Chameau*, Nov. 15, 1719; Série F2B, vol. 1, Chambre de Commerce to Minister, La Rochelle, Jan. 15, 1735.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, Série A21, Déclaration du Roy, Feb. 29, 1748.



The problem of finding suitable cargoes in large enough quantities to send back to France was one of the most pressing economic problems during the French régime. There was always, of course, the fur export, for though the beaver trade was under the control of the *Compagnie des Indes*, a dozen different pelts remained which could be exported quite legally by private merchants and made into coats, scarves, and rugs, welcomed even in sunny France. But the French market could not absorb an indefinite number of mink, fox, lynx, and non-beaver skins, and the Canadian colonists were forced to find some other means by which they could pay for the many necessities and luxuries brought from France. Hence the products of Canada's farms, forests, and fisheries had to supply the return cargoes for many of the returning ships. The valiant attempts of the government to encourage the growth of flax and hemp and the making of tar and potash, the various fishing concessions in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the contracts for supplying lumber, the constant pressure for increased wheat acreage and for larger stocks of cattle, all these are examples of the general anxiety on the part of royal officials and the French merchants to find exports from New France.<sup>44</sup> The success of these efforts was only partial, certainly not commensurate with all the money, time, and energy poured into the various enterprises. Except in the three very exceptional years of 1731, 1739, and 1741, the balance of trade remained adverse to Canada, making it necessary for the king to keep the colony from bankruptcy by his annual grants of cash, ammunition, and fur trading supplies, and at the same time draining from New France all its negotiable currency. Yet the margin between imports and exports narrowed steadily as the merchant ships in the Quebec harbour loaded up with dried fish, peas, oil, timber and wheat. By the eighteenth century, new products had appeared—tar and tobacco, cheese and salt beef, masts and bricks, all of which were produced in New France and brought to Quebec for export. It is interesting to note that on the export list of 1735, the largest single item consists of 214,000 planks along with 14,820 boards. But they are well supported by 26,272 litres of flour, 1,007,300 pounds of biscuit, 40,190 pounds of tobacco, 883 barrels of fish oil, as well as by lesser amounts of salmon, eels, cod, beef, and peas.<sup>45</sup> So great was the development that between 1729 and

<sup>44</sup>Reid, "The Development and Importance of Quebec, 1608-1760," 234-59.

<sup>45</sup>P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 8, Riverin to Minister, Quebec, Feb. 7, 1686; Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F1A, vol. 26, *Marchandises envoyées en France de Québec*, 1716-23, Dec. 7, 1727; Série F2B, vol. 11, *Estat des marchandises . . . chargées dans le port de Québec*, 1732, 1733, 1735.

1743 Canadian non-fur exports rose in value from a million and a quarter to 2,396,642 livres.<sup>46</sup> The Intendant Raudot was not far from right when he wrote, "Il faut que ce pays ne regarde plus à l'avenir la pelletrie que comme un accessoire à son commerce, suivant la principale de celui que la terre produit qui est toujours un bien quasi sûr et certain."<sup>47</sup>

The last phase of Canadian trade was comparatively simple and pleasant. Return to the port of sailing was required by law, and might occasionally cause some hardship, though exceptions to the rule could be purchased, and most of the merchants and owners must have been only too anxious to get home.<sup>48</sup> Detailed landing declarations of the goods brought from Canada, and the payment of a duty of 1 per cent, allowed Canadian produce to land on the French quays. It sold rapidly, especially to the naval stores at Rochefort and Brest. Bills of exchange were cashed, profits distributed, and the scene was set for a return voyage.<sup>49</sup>

In reaching a final conclusion on the importance of the general trade between Canada and France, there are several points to remember. There can be no doubt that to Canada this trade was of the highest value. Without it the colony would have been deprived of almost all its manufactured goods and many of its luxuries, and would have found little sale for its surplus products. The more debatable point is what place Quebec held in the French trading system. Even in the seventeenth century, officials and merchants wasted much time and ink arguing over the importance of Canadian commerce. Out of the debates certain definite facts emerged. In the first place, Canada did undoubtedly supply a valuable market for French goods, the importance of which was not fully realized until after the loss of the colony. The memoir on Canadian trade, drawn up in 1777, points out vividly how trade with Quebec influenced the far corners of French economic life. "Les Provinces de Languedoc, de Guienne, le Poitou, la Normandie, le Lyonnais, la Touraine, l'Orléanais concouroient à ce commerce lucratif et im-

<sup>46</sup>Lunn, "Economic Development of New France," 477, Appendix, Canadian Export and Import Trade.

<sup>47</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série C11G, vol. 4, Raudot to Minister, Quebec, Nov. 1, 1709.

<sup>48</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Série F12, vol. 62, Règlement du Conseil de Commerce, April 8, 1717; Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 2, Chambre de Commerce to Minister, Bayonne, April 30, 1756.

<sup>49</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Série F12, vol. 115, Déclaration des droits d'entrée et de sortie, La Rochelle, 1744; Archives des Colonies, Série F1B, vol. 7, Comte de Barillon, Domaine d'Occident, 1740; P.A.C., Archives des Colonies, Série C11A, vol. 58, Hocquart to Minister, Quebec, Oct. 1, 1732.



portant. . . Les farines de Moissac et de Nerac; les vins de Bordeaux; les eaux de vie de Cognac, de la Rochelle et de l'île de Rhé, étoient autant de richesses échangées contre celles de Canada."<sup>50</sup> In the second place, Canadian trade did undoubtedly provide a living for a considerable number of men and their families, both in France and Canada. From the merchants and bankers who organized and financed the enterprises to the dockers and sailors, the customs officers, and the employees in the warehouses, hundreds of Frenchmen and Canadians must have received either part or full time employment, thanks to the trade between France and Canada. Thirdly, there were a number of French ports to which Canadian trade was of great value. This applied most particularly in the seventeenth century to La Rochelle and in the eighteenth to Bordeaux.<sup>51</sup> Yet they did not have a monopoly of the Canadian trade. Le Havre, Nantes, and St. Malo had continuous commercial relations with Quebec, while many other ports such as Brest, Bayonne, Honfleur, and Marseilles sent occasional ships across the Atlantic, served as ports of debarkation in times of emergency, or supplied trading goods to those towns more actively engaged in the Canadian exchange.<sup>52</sup>

Unfortunately, the opposite side of the picture must not be ignored, for, although trade with Canada might be an essential element in the commercial life of the western French ports, it cannot truthfully be argued that it was the essential one. Even in the case of Bordeaux and La Rochelle, trade with the French West Indies surpassed trade with Canada. Between 1749 and 1755, there were 121 trading voyages made between Bordeaux and Quebec, while during the same period 423 ships made the trip between Bordeaux and Santo Domingo, and 384 between Bordeaux and Martinique. Between these same years, La Rochelle sent only 55 ships to Quebec as compared with the 159 vessels which it despatched to the West Indies.<sup>53</sup> The very fact that, in the peace negotiations which ended the Seven Years' War, Martinique was rated of greater economic

<sup>50</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série C11E, vol. 11, *Mémoire sur le Canada*, Paris, 1777.

<sup>51</sup>La Rochelle, *Numeros Provisoires*, vol. 88, *Rôles des équipages des navires*, 1670-5; Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 2, "Tableau de départ des navires marchands . . . , 1749-55."

<sup>52</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Série B3, vol. 28, *Deschouzeaux to Colbert*, Le Havre, May 24, 1678; vol. 269, *Dilly to Minister*, Le Havre, April 21, 1721; Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 2, "Tableau du départ des navires marchands . . . , 1749-55."

<sup>53</sup>Paris, Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, Série F2B, vol. 2, "Tableau du départ des navires marchands . . . , 1749-55."

importance to France than Canada would confirm the conclusion that, despite mercantilist theories, the general trade which passed between France and Canada was of infinitely higher value to the colony than to the mother country. For Canada, the ships which anchored at Quebec were the pivot around which the economic life of the colony revolved. But for France, Quebec represented only a useful, not an irreplaceable, market and Canadian trade merited encouragement only from the point of view of a long-range mercantilist policy that might develop the commercial prosperity on which the military and political security of the colony alone could rest.

## A NOTE ON PALLISER'S ACT

W. L. MORTON

THE place of the Quebec Act in the history of the British Empire between 1763 and 1783 has been intensively studied. Palliser's Act<sup>1</sup> respecting the British fishery in Newfoundland was, as has been noted,<sup>2</sup> a measure which, in its antecedents and purposes, was in many respects a counterpart to the Quebec Act. The purpose of this note is to elaborate the parallel between the two Acts.

It had been the purpose of the elder Pitt both to drive the French from the Ohio and the St. Lawrence and to exclude them from the Newfoundland fishery.<sup>3</sup> The elimination of the French from the North Atlantic fisheries would bring those fisheries under the practical control, except for the "green" fishery on the Banks, of British fishermen, whether from the colonies or the British Isles. It would aid in closing the gap in the mercantile system of the Empire which the "free fishery" of Newfoundland had been. It would strike a heavy blow at the sea-power of France, for the French navy had always relied on the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany for recruits. Indeed, opinion was not lacking that the loss of the Newfoundland fishery would be a more serious reverse to France than the loss of Canada.<sup>4</sup>

So evident was the threat to French sea-power that the Duc de Choiseul refused to consider the exclusion of France from the Newfoundland fishery.<sup>5</sup> The prolongation of the war, the fall of Pitt, and the success of the peace party under Bute and Bedford resulted in France's acquiring the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in full sovereignty and retaining "the French shore" of the Treaty of Utrecht, with the modification that it was to run from Pointe Riche to Cape Ray.

Despite the retention by France of these important rights in the Newfoundland fishery, the British authorities attempted to reconsider the place of the Newfoundland fishery in the Empire. Three issues confronted the authorities concerned—the Board of Trade, the Treasury, and the Admiralty. The first was the growth of "residency," or settlement in the island, and the conse-

<sup>1</sup>15 Geo. III, c. 31; called Palliser's Act after (Sir) Hugh Palliser, 1723-96, naval governor of Newfoundland, 1764-8, Comptroller of the Navy, 1770-8, chiefly remembered for his part in the controversy with Admiral Augustus Keppel over their respective roles in the Battle of Ushant, 1778.

<sup>2</sup>H. A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries* (Toronto, 1940), 208. For other and recent studies of the complex background of this Note, see J. B. Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle* (Toronto, 1945), chaps. II-IV, and G. S. Graham, *Empire of the North Atlantic* (Toronto, 1950), chaps. IX, X.

<sup>3</sup>Albert von Ruville (trans. H. J. Chaytor), *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (London, 1907), II, 365; "and especially the exclusive right to the Newfoundland fishery" was the expression Pitt used.

<sup>4</sup>William J. Smith, ed., *The Grenville Papers, Being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville, Earl Temple and the Rt. Hon. George Grenville, Their Friends and Contemporaries* (London, 1852), I, 341-2, Charles Jenkinson to Bute, May 24, 1760.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 381-2, 385, Jenkinson to George Grenville, Aug. 6, 8, 1761.

quent need for civil government. The second was "smuggling," the evasion of the Laws of Trade by means of the opportunities and actual privileges of the "free British fishery" established by the Fishing Act of 1699, which embodied the traditional policy of a fishery conducted from the British Isles and of no settlement in Newfoundland. The third was the problem of how to revive the "nursery of seamen," the yield of which had been much diminished by the decline of the ship fishery from the British Isles, and the rise of the bye boat and resident fisheries. The major decisions which had to be taken as a result of the territorial acquisitions of the Treaty of Paris made it possible to attempt some considerable reorganization of the regulations governing the fishery.

The Proclamation of October 7, 1763, confirmed the extension of the authority of the naval governor of Newfoundland over the Coast of Labrador.<sup>6</sup> Labrador thus came under the Fishing Act, with the consequence that the cod and salmon fisheries of British and Newfoundland fishermen would be placed before the whale fishery of New England and the seal fishery of Canada. The general intention behind the annexation of Labrador to Newfoundland was to allow the British fishery to expand northwards while leaving the fisheries of Cape Breton and the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the New Englanders and Nova Scotians.<sup>7</sup>

Immediately thereafter the desirability of instituting a civil government in the Island was canvassed.<sup>8</sup> Opposition to the proposal from the British merchants trading to Newfoundland caused it to be dropped,<sup>9</sup> although the Board of Trade remained severely critical of the lack of provision for civil government in the Fishing Act,<sup>10</sup> as well as of other deficiencies. The establishment of civil government, by making the fishery a colony, would have made provision for law and order and have brought the island under the Laws of Trade and Navigation. This, however, would have ended the "free British fishery," in which the West Country merchants had a vested interest, and which they defended by raising the cry of the "nursery of seamen."

Other means had therefore to be found for stopping a smuggling trade between New England and French ships. The beginning of such a trade had already been reported in 1763 and 1764.<sup>11</sup> Intercourse with St. Pierre and Miquelon was forbidden by a clause in the Sugar Act,<sup>12</sup> and a Comptroller of Customs was for the first time appointed to St. John's in 1764.<sup>13</sup>

The same year saw Captain Hugh Palliser made naval governor of Newfoundland, and raised to the rank of commodore to strengthen his authority. Palliser's Commission and Instructions did not materially differ from those of

<sup>6</sup>C. O. 194/15, f. 80; the Coast of Labrador had been placed under the authority of the naval governor of Newfoundland by Instructions issued to Captain John Graves, March 30, 1763.

<sup>7</sup>British Museum Additional MS 35913, f. 230 *et seq.*; Board of Trade to Lord Egremont, June 8, 1763.

<sup>8</sup>C.O. 195/9, f. 243; C.O. 391/70, f. 346.

<sup>9</sup>C.O. 194/15, f. 47 *et seq.*

<sup>10</sup>C.O. 194/26, Report of the Board of Trade, March 30, 1764.

<sup>11</sup>C.O. 194/26, Governor Graves to Admiralty, 1763; C.O. 194/16, Governor Palliser to Board of Trade, 1764.

<sup>12</sup>Geo. III, c. 15, s. 35.

<sup>13</sup>T. 11/27, p. 457.

his predecessors, but it seems reasonable to believe that both Palliser and his superiors intended that the Instructions, which required the governor to enforce the provisions of the Fishing Act and uphold officers of government in the discharge of their duties, should be carried out more rigorously than in the past. The Treasury under George Grenville was tightening the administration of the Customs in the colonies. Palliser himself was convinced that it was his duty to make the fishery a nursery of seamen.<sup>14</sup>

Palliser at once made his intentions evident in the fishing season of 1764. The seizure of a brig for illegal trading raised the question whether Newfoundland as a "free fishery" came under the Laws of Trade. When the Treasury referred the question to the Board of Trade, that body replied that it "could see no reason to doubt that Newfoundland is part of His Majesty's Plantations in America."<sup>15</sup> Thereafter Newfoundland was considered to come under the Laws of Trade, and the collection of customs, not without much evasion and resistance, continued at St. John's.<sup>16</sup>

Palliser revealed, by his actions in the same year, that his principal concern was with the enforcement of the terms of the Fishing Act in order to make the Newfoundland fishery the nursery of seamen it was intended to be. His efforts were to bring him into conflict with both American and British interests. He first attempted to enforce the Fishing Act on the Coast of Labrador and the Magdalen Islands, even to the extent of interfering with the whaling and of destroying sealing posts. His reasons were the lawless violence of the New England whalers and the fact that there was not "one Old English ship or seaman employed therein nor a seaman raised for the service of the Fleet."<sup>17</sup> In 1766, however, as a result of protests from the merchants of Quebec, he was instructed to moderate the severity of his measures. In the end, a compromise, by which the Coast of Labrador was annexed to Quebec by the Quebec Act, had to be worked out between the claims of the Canadian sealers and the British fishermen on the Coast.<sup>18</sup>

In Newfoundland itself Palliser found obstacles to making the fishery a nursery of seamen both in the resident fishery and in the West Country merchants who supplied it. Only fishermen who returned to the British Isles were available to the press-gangs; colonial seamen indeed were exempt from the press by statute.<sup>19</sup> But both the growth of residency and the decline of the ship fishery in face of the rise of the resident and the bye boat fishery operated to decrease the number of seamen returned to Britain. Palliser set himself to check the growth of residency and to revive the ship fishery. In this endeavour his principal opponents were to be those very West Country merchants who had used the cry of the "nursery of seamen" to obtain their demands upon the Government, but who were in fact for the most part interested, not in

<sup>14</sup>C.O. 194/16, Palliser to Board of Trade, March 30, 1764.

<sup>15</sup>T. 1/441, Board of Trade to Treasury, June 5, 1765.

<sup>16</sup>John Reeves, *History of the Government of Newfoundland* (London, 1793), 128.

<sup>17</sup>C.O. 194/17.

<sup>18</sup>C.O. 194/28. The Board of Trade advised that Labrador should be annexed to Quebec (C.O. 195/10, f. 222); in 1773 it was ordered that fishermen from the British Isles should be protected in their holdings on the Coast, provided they fitted out a ship for the cod fishery each year (C.O. 194/31). These rights were maintained after the annexation of Labrador to Quebec in 1774 (C.O. 194/33).

<sup>19</sup>6 Anne, c. 37.

the ship fishery, but in the "sack" ships which supplied the resident and bye boat fishermen.

Residency, Palliser thought, was the combined result of laziness, indebtedness, and the connivance of the "merchant suppliers."<sup>20</sup> To encourage the return of resident fishermen, he proposed that they should be promised freedom from imprisonment for debt on their return, on condition that they remained in the fishery. Deductions from wages for liquor or supplies in excess of a maximum fixed by law should be prohibited. The masters of ships should be obliged to pay the men's passage out and home from the season's wages. "Dieters," unemployed men kept in the island over the winter, should be obliged to return home at the end of the season. The balance of wages owing after legal deductions had been made should be made payable in coin or bills of exchange negotiable in England. "Ships' rooms," or space on shore in harbour for drying fish and other operations of the fishery should be assured to "adventurers" from the British Isles. In 1767 Palliser put most of his proposals into force by proclamation.<sup>21</sup> They were to be made law in Palliser's Act.

The Board of Trade, which had been critical of the operation of the Fishing Act in 1764 and 1765, was confirmed in its attitude by Palliser's reports.<sup>22</sup> In its representations in 1769 on the Instructions for Palliser's successor, Captain John Bryon, the Board expressed views in accord with those of Palliser. "We beg at the same time to observe that the increasing the number of Seamen and extending the Navigation of this Kingdom, upon which its wealth and safety depend, have been and ought invariably to be the objects to be first attended to in whatever Regulations shall be adopted in respect to Newfoundland, the state of which at present, as set forth in our said Representation [that of 1765] does in our humble opinion, require immediate and deliberate attention."<sup>23</sup> In December of the same year the Board was ordered by the Cabinet to prepare for the consideration of Parliament at its next sitting "a plan for the better regulating the Government, and encouraging the Fishery of Newfoundland."<sup>24</sup> But of this nothing more was heard, until the bill that was to be Palliser's Act came before Parliament in 1775.

The parallel between the development of policy in Quebec and Newfoundland in the years 1763 to 1770 is evident. In Quebec a policy of "assimilation" to the old colonial pattern had been proclaimed; in Newfoundland such a policy was considered. As difficulties arising out of the regulation of the fur trade, the form of government, the administration of justice in Quebec, and relations with the old colonies developed, the policy of 1763 was discarded in Quebec. In Newfoundland the opposition of the West Country interests and the fear of New England enterprise resulted in an attempt to enforce the old policy of making the fishery a nursery of seamen, while leaving the question of a civil government in debate. By 1770 Carleton, Palliser's counterpart, had returned to England to press those changes in imperial policy which were, after four years of procrastination, to be embodied in the Quebec Act. In the same way,

<sup>20</sup>C.O. 194/16, Palliser's Remarks on his Instructions, 1764.

<sup>21</sup>C.O. 194/181, f. 21.

<sup>22</sup>C.O. 195/9, f. 405; British Museum Additional MS 38396, Liverpool Papers.

<sup>23</sup>C.O. 195/10, f. 6 *et seq.*

<sup>24</sup>C.O. 391/76, f. 183.

an attempt was to be made in Palliser's Act to carry out Palliser's wish to restore the ship fishery from Britain.

A further parallel between the two Acts lay in concern of both Carleton and Palliser with the possibility, indeed the likelihood, of a renewal of the struggle with France. Carleton's anxiety on this score is well known.<sup>25</sup> Palliser's was equally evident and equally well founded. France had begun to rebuild its fleet even before 1763; in that year it was reported to have ten ships of the line; in 1772 it was reported to have seventy-four.<sup>26</sup> To that number the navy of Spain had to be added in the calculations of British naval strategists of the day. The British navy, its strength in ships impaired by the building with green wood which was resorted to in the Seven Years' War,<sup>27</sup> had to rely on the press-gang to man the ships commissioned on the outbreak of war. No legislation provided for better methods of recruiting,<sup>28</sup> and the number of men required was steadily increasing.<sup>29</sup>

These considerations, which had inspired Palliser's conduct as governor of Newfoundland, pressed even more heavily upon him as Comptroller of the Navy from 1770 to 1778. The Board of Trade was also aware that New England's trade with Newfoundland continued to flourish. The Falkland Islands dispute of 1771 caused a great increase in it,<sup>30</sup> and the future trade of the fishery, like the fur trade of the Ohio Valley, seemed likely to pass into colonial hands. The West Country merchants who traded to Newfoundland were no more pleased by the prospect than were the London firms which supplied the fur trade of Canada.

When, therefore, strife with the colonies was renewed early in 1774, it presented the lethargic North administration with occasion to legislate in favour of British interests in the Empire and of imperial defence. The three coercive Acts directed against Massachusetts in 1774 were accompanied by the Quebec Act and the Quartering Act. There followed in 1775 the Restraining Act<sup>31</sup> and Palliser's Act. The former cut off trade between the New England and other colonies, and forbade resort to Newfoundland. The bill was attacked by opposition speakers as a measure of coercion, but North declared that the Newfoundland fishery was "the undoubted right" of British fishermen,<sup>32</sup> and Sandwich that it was "a perpetual law of commercial regulation, operating to extend our trade, to increase our seamen, and strengthen our naval power."<sup>33</sup> The North administration was attempting, at the eleventh hour, to eliminate contradictions within the imperial system.

Since "the American fishery had been abolished,"<sup>34</sup> and since it was necessary to encourage British traders and fishermen to take the place of those of New

<sup>25</sup>C.O. 42/7, ff. 41-53, Carleton to Shelburne, Nov. 25, 1767.

<sup>26</sup>Naval Records Society, *Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich*, I, 33-4.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>28</sup>Wm. Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy* (London, 1898), II, 287.

<sup>29</sup>There were 80,000 men in service in the Seven Years' War (Naval Records Society, *Sandwich Papers*, I, 90-2, Palliser to Sandwich); in 1780 there were 92,000. The peak was reached for days of sail in 1802 with 129,000 men (J. R. Hutchinson, *The Press Gang*, London, 1913, 21).

<sup>30</sup>C.O. 194/37.

<sup>31</sup>15 Geo. III, c. 10.

<sup>32</sup>*Parliamentary History*, XVIII, 98-9.

<sup>33</sup>*Parliamentary Debates*, II, 80.

<sup>34</sup>*Parliamentary History*, XVIII, 398; *Annual Register*, XVIII, 113.



England,<sup>35</sup> Palliser's Act was passed. By its terms bounties were to be paid to fishing ships fitted out in ports in the British Isles for the Newfoundland fishery for a period of ten years. Half the wages of the men were to be held back until the voyage was ended in Great Britain. A lien for wages on the fish and oil was made statutory. Fishing ships cleared from a port in the British Isles under the terms of the Fishing Act were to pay only two shillings and sixpence in customs fees. The clause of the act of Queen Anne exempting seamen in the colonies from the press was repealed. A duty of one shilling a gallon on all rum imported from the American continent was designed to aid direct traffic with the British West Indies. The Act as a whole was designed, though not well designed,<sup>36</sup> to restore the ship fishery, to give British merchants the trade of Newfoundland, and to make the fishery in fact a nursery of seamen.

Commerce and defence were to complement one another, in mercantilist eyes, and these two Acts of 1775 were meant to make them do so in the Newfoundland fishery. The expansion of New England's commerce and the requirements of imperial sea-power, however, had been in conflict in the fishery for many years prior to 1775. The assumption of British policy-makers in 1763 that the old colonial system might be extended over the new territories and even the old fishery of Newfoundland, had been disproved by events in Canada and in Newfoundland. The Quebec Act was an attempt to meet the needs of the Canadian fur trade and do justice to the French. The Restraining Act and Palliser's Act were an attempt to prevent the Newfoundland fishery being drawn into the orbit of New England. Both attempts were designed to strengthen Britain in the event of a renewal of war with the Bourbon powers. Both measures were tardily evolved and in the end precipitated by the conflict with the colonies. Both were allied with measures coercive in effect, even when not coercive in intention. Both were attempts to deal with parts of the Empire peculiar in their economic development and local circumstances. Each challenged the susceptibilities and ambitions of powerful groups of colonies. Each contributed to the break with the mainland colonies, and each was a partial failure, the Quebec Act in that it failed to preserve the Ohio Valley for Canada, Palliser's Act in that it failed to revive the ship fishery and prevent the Newfoundland fishery becoming a wholly North American fishery.

<sup>35</sup>The Restraining Act caused great distress in Newfoundland (A. M. Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, New York, 1917, 533).

<sup>36</sup>See Wm. Augustus Miles, *Remarks on an Act of Parliament passed in the fifteenth year of His Majesty's Reign on the credit of Sir Hugh Palliser's Information*, etc. (London, 1779).

## A NOTE ON THE MACKENZIE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1875-1878

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

WHEN the Canadian Government in 1869 accepted the terms of Lord Granville<sup>1</sup> for the sale of the Hudson's Bay Company territories to the Dominion, it did so despite the premonitions of leading Canadians, both supporters and opponents of the Macdonald administration, that the proposed agreement contained provisions detrimental to the interests of Canada, and in particular to the welfare of the new Canadian West. It was not the purchase price of £300,000 which evoked this uneasiness; rather, it was the reservation to the Hudson's Bay Company of one-twentieth of the land of the "fertile belt" and a maximum of 50,000 acres around the trading posts. This allocation of land to the Company evoked unpleasant recollections of the long and bitter controversies over the disposition of the Clergy Reserves, which had split Canadian society in previous generations. The Canadian delegates to negotiate the transfer, particularly William McDougall,<sup>2</sup> balked at this provision. When the previous Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Buckingham, had suggested that the Company should be reimbursed by revenue from land sales for the surrender of its rights, the Liberal *Toronto Globe* had indignantly denounced "this preposterous bargain."<sup>3</sup>

Yet the Canadian delegates were forced to accede to the Granville settlement, and even the *Globe* was forced to "recognize the necessities of the case."<sup>4</sup> The only alternative was the continuation of a controversy already overly prolonged, the preservation of a state of anarchy in the Hudson's Bay territories, with resultant frontier incidents involving citizens of the United States; and the extension of American influence over this power vacuum.<sup>5</sup>

The Macdonald administration made no efforts to negotiate with the Company for the sale to the government of the right to land reserves. Meanwhile shareholders of the Company waited with increasing impatience for dividends from land sales. That no such returns were received is not surprising, for by the Dominion Lands Act of 1872,<sup>6</sup> public lands were offered free to homesteaders; and the machinery for the survey and allocation of land proceeded painfully slowly. By the end of 1873, less than \$6,000 had been received from land sales, largely from the Company's reserve at Winnipeg (Fort Garry),

<sup>1</sup>On March 9, 1869, Lord Granville, Secretary of State for Colonies, sent what amounted to an ultimatum to Canada and the Company, stating what he considered to be acceptable terms of settlement. Rogers to Northcote, March 9, 1869, A-8/12, Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Appreciation is due to the Governor and Committee for their permission to cite documents from the Company's Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Granville to Gladstone, March 11, 1869, Gladstone MSS, 44166, British Museum: "Mr. McDougall has had a much more difficult task than Sir George [Cartier] in acceding to our proposals for the Transfer of the Hudson's Bay Territory."

<sup>3</sup>*Globe*, June 4, 6, 1868.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, April 5, 1869.

<sup>5</sup>In Rogers to Northcote, March 9, 1869, *supra*, this point of view is clearly stated.

<sup>6</sup>37 Vict., c. 19.

the capital of the new province of Manitoba.<sup>7</sup> This continued drought in land sales predisposed directors and shareholders to listen attentively to any offers for the sale of the Company's rights; and the advent of the Liberal Government of Alexander Mackenzie, anxious to remove western lands from the control of profiteers and therefore willing to purchase the Company's title, seemed to make agreement likely.

George Joachim Goschen, later to become British Chancellor of the Exchequer, became Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in March, 1874. He was already well and favourably known in the City of London as a member of one of the leading financial houses, Frühling and Göschen. Goschen looked upon the possession of landed rights in western Canada as being unlikely to produce significant returns in the foreseeable future. When a shareholder, E. L. J. Ridsdale, an employee of the Royal Mint, proposed to convert the Company's lands into cash by selling land certificates, Goschen and the directors were unanimously opposed. Apart from the essential unsoundness of Ridsdale's scheme, Goschen's objections were twofold, that the land was worth far less than the £1,700,000 Ridsdale assumed as its value, approximately one-third of it being "absolutely worthless" because of inaccessibility or because its soil was swampy or otherwise unfit for cultivation, and that taxes and administrative expenses would greatly reduce profits from land sales.<sup>8</sup>

As an astute business man, however, Goschen was not inclined to underestimate the value of his property in discussion with prospective buyers. In the winter of 1874-5, the Mackenzie Government approached Donald A. Smith, the Company's land commissioner, to inquire whether the land was for sale on "equitable terms." Smith was unable to make a definite reply, but agreed to go to London to ascertain the opinion of the Governor and Committee. Goschen informed Smith that the Committee were by no means eager to sell their lands and that even if they were to agree, he was uncertain whether the majority of the shareholders would uphold them in such a sale. "The view of the shareholders," he declared, "is that the lands are likely to rise in value every year, and that if a sale is negotiated at all, it should be on liberal terms." On the other hand, said Goschen, the Committee understood Canada's desire to acquire this land, and were anxious to maintain harmonious relations with the Canadian Government. In this spirit the Committee would be receptive to Mackenzie's advances, but in any negotiations, the settlement of the Company's claims for losses in the Red River Rebellion should be included.<sup>9</sup>

These views of Goschen as reported by Smith were apparently considered by the Cabinet as evidence of the Company's desire to negotiate and Mackenzie was authorized to initiate discussions in London.<sup>10</sup> He arrived late in June,

<sup>7</sup>J. S. Galbraith, "Land Policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1870-1913," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXII, March, 1951, 3.

<sup>8</sup>Goschen to Ridsdale, Feb. 11, 1875; same to same, Feb. 25, 1875, A-7/4, Hudson's Bay Archives. Goschen was in error in his assumption that much of the land was worthless. The Lands Act of 1872 provided for substitution of allotments when land assigned to the Company was manifestly undesirable, and later Lord Strathcona as Governor took full advantage of this right.

<sup>9</sup>Goschen to Smith, Feb. 4, 1875, A-7/4, Hudson's Bay Archives. All citations hereafter, unless otherwise indicated, are from this source.

<sup>10</sup>Order in Council, June 4, 1875, Public Archives of Canada.

1875, and immediately visited Hudson's Bay House for an interview with Goschen. No verbatim account of this interview was recorded, but its general nature is indicated by Mackenzie's summary in a subsequent letter to Goschen. Each stressed the importance to the other of early settlement, with Goschen emphasizing and Mackenzie depreciating the value of the property. Mackenzie explained that Canada did not desire to acquire the lands because of their commercial value but because political necessity dictated the incorporation of these reserves in the public domain. He warned Goschen that continued possession of these lands by the Company would be detrimental to the interests not only of the settler but of the Company itself:

Experience has shown that intending settlers look with very great disfavour on Companies trading in lands, and the public feeling generally in Canada, undoubtedly sympathizes with this intolerance of landed Companies. The Government desires if possible to avoid complications and difficulties with settlers which they believe to be inevitable should the Company continue in the field as the possessors of lands held for profit. They desire to be in a position to pursue without let or hindrance from any other occupant the system already inaugurated, of granting lands free or at a very low price to all comers. Their object is rather to fill up the country than to attempt to make money by the sale of lands. The Government also believe that it is in the interest of the Company that these views should be acquiesced in by them. It is important alike to the Company and the country that the territorial rights of the Company should pass into the hands of the general Government before the establishment of any local government and legislature under the Act of last session, or any future Act as the legislature of such new bodies concerning non-resident lands may make the question one of great embarrassment in the near future.<sup>11</sup>

Mere unpopularity with the Canadian community might not predispose the Company to settlement, as Mackenzie recognized. The Company had faced such hostility in the protracted dispute before 1869. But there were more compelling reasons for acceptance of a reasonable offer in 1875, as Mackenzie reminded Goschen. First, an immediate payment would provide revenue to the stockholder, whereas little or no return could be expected for many years from the sale of lands. Second, the Company would avoid the payment of eight cents per acre for surveyors' fees and would save the costs of management. Third, the Company could expect that, as a major landowner, it would be required to bear a considerable burden of taxation. These considerations, contended Mackenzie, should dispose the Company to accept the following terms of settlement, which he was authorized by his Cabinet to offer: (1) the Company would retain all lands they possessed in the town of Winnipeg (the Upper Fort Garry reserve); (2) a "reasonable" acreage would be allotted the Company at each of its stations; (3) the Dominion would pay £550,000 in 4 per cent bonds at par for the remaining lands, such payment to be made as soon as the sanction of the Canadian Parliament could be obtained. If the Company accepted these conditions, Mackenzie agreed to waive claims for the payment of the costs of past surveys except for such lands as remained

<sup>11</sup>Mackenzie to Goschen, July 1, 1875, A-8/13.

its property or which it had sold; in exchange the Company would waive all claims against the Canadian Government except those which were admittedly matters of account.<sup>12</sup>

These proposals were most favourably received by Goschen, particularly since Mackenzie's arguments for settlement reflected his own thought. Yet he was inclined to bargain in the hope of still more advantageous agreement. He, therefore, replied that the lowest sum the directors could recommend for acceptance to the shareholders was £600,000 in 4 per cent bonds.<sup>13</sup> He misjudged Mackenzie. The Canadian Prime Minister had come, not to haggle, but to present a final offer. He transmitted Goschen's counter-proposal to the Cabinet at Ottawa and they concurred in his decision to adhere to his original terms. Mackenzie thereupon informed Goschen on July 17 that he would remain in London a few more days to receive any further communication from the Company.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout the negotiations, Donald A. Smith seems to have played the role of intermediary. After Mackenzie's rejection of the Company's counter-offer, Smith conferred with both the Prime Minister and Goschen and secured their agreement to a statement of the acreages to be retained by the Company at its various posts. The only remaining disagreement was the price for the land to be transferred, and Goschen moved to compromise by an offer to sell for £575,000 in bonds.<sup>15</sup>

Mackenzie now evinced impatience with the Company's tactics. He was not, he said, prepared to "half the difference." The offer he had made was liberal and should have been accepted. As a final concession, however, he indicated his willingness to vary the financial settlement to £555,000 in 4 per cent bonds or £500,000 in cash, it to be optional with Canada to pay the whole or any part in either bonds or cash. Further, all lands to be retained by the Company, with the exception of those at Winnipeg, could be used only for the trading business or for agricultural operations related thereto, and could not be transferred. With the exception of the reserve at Winnipeg, the Company, then, would no longer trade in land. Should the Company cease to use any of the land at the stations, it would be required to dispose of them at auction within twelve months.<sup>16</sup>

The Governor and Committee responded with alacrity. During the same morning that Mackenzie dispatched his final offer, the Committee accepted, and a conference was held between the two parties at which settlement was apparently reached. The draft agreement, which the Company understood to embody Mackenzie's terms, was as follows:

1. The Governor and Committee agreed to relinquish the Company's lands in Manitoba and the Northwest Territory, with the exception of certain specified acreages. In exchange, Canada was to pay on or before July 1, 1876, £550,000 in 4 per cent bonds dating from January 1, 1876. The Government would have the option of paying £500,000 in cash with interest at 4 per cent from January 1, 1876.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>Goschen to Mackenzie, July 1, 1875, A-8/13.

<sup>14</sup>Mackenzie to Goschen, July 17, 1875, A-8/13.

<sup>15</sup>Goschen to Mackenzie, Aug. 7, 1875, A-8/13.

<sup>16</sup>Mackenzie to Goschen, Aug. 18, 1875, A-8/13.

2. The land held by the Company at Fort Garry under patents from the Government and any other lands owned by the Company by purchase or deed from individuals would be excluded from the proposed surrender.

3. The Company would retain all its trading establishments. If it ceased to carry on business at any post, the surrounding land should be sold by the Company at public auction within twelve months, unless the Government consented to prolong this interval. Subject to these reservations, the Company was to relinquish all rights to deal in land.

4. The blocks to be reserved to the Company should be as nearly square as possible, to conform to Dominion surveys, and the expense of surveying was to be borne by the Canadian Government.

5. The Government would waive all claims for amounts due from past surveys, except for such lands as remained the property of the Company.

6. The Company would accept the amount agreed on as covering all their claims against the Government, except those which were "admittedly matters of account."

7. The Company's rights and claims to land in other parts of Canada than Manitoba and the Northwest Territory were in no way prejudiced by the agreement.<sup>17</sup>

The following acreages were to be reserved to the Company for trading purposes:

*Northern Department*

*District*

Saskatchewan	10,900
Cumberland	2,240
Swan River	3,680
Red River	540
Manitoba and Manitoba Lake	1,300
Lac la Pluie	1,480
York	560
Norway House	320

*Southern Department*

Albany, Eastman, Moose, Rupert's River, and Kenogamissi	2,760
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*Montreal Department*

*District*

Temiscamingue [Temiskaming]	680
Labrador	

*Northwest Territory*

*District*

Athabasca	1,720
Mackenzie River	1,960
Total acreage	28,900 <sup>18</sup>

Negotiations had moved toward a conclusion with extreme rapidity. Within a few hours, during the morning and afternoon of August 18, a proposal had been made and accepted and a draft agreement drawn up, involving an

<sup>17</sup>Draft agreement, undated [Aug. 18, 1875], A-37/27; Goschen to Mackenzie, Aug. 18, 1875, A-8/13.

<sup>18</sup>Goschen to Mackenzie, Aug. 18, 1875, A-8/13. The total acreage stated was apparently an error, since the reserves listed total only 28,140 acres.

expenditure of a greater sum by Canada than that which it had paid for the bulk of the Company's rights in 1869. When Mackenzie examined the draft that evening in the quiet of his room at the Westminster Palace Hotel he was assailed by doubts. He decided that discretion dictated delay until he had had a further opportunity to consult with his Cabinet, and he wrote Goschen that the draft was not exactly in accordance with his understanding of the conclusions of the conference of that morning. The details in which it deviated are not evident, for it apparently followed in every essential respect the proposals which Mackenzie had made in his last letter. He nevertheless informed Goschen that, after considering the subject fully, he had determined to submit the proposal to his Cabinet.<sup>19</sup>

The motivation which made Mackenzie recoil from the consummation of an agreement which he had been authorized to conclude are not clear. His papers in the Public Archives of Canada provide no clue. The most logical explanation would seem to be that steadily deepening economic depression made him hesitate to commit his Government to so large an expenditure.<sup>20</sup> Whatever his reasons, his refusal to accept the draft agreement of August 18 meant the failure of his mission, for on his return to Canada he found his colleagues opposed to unnecessary expenditure for the duration of the crisis.

One year passed with no further communication between Canada and the Company on the subject of the Hudson's Bay Reserves. Meanwhile, the shareholders, whose appetites had been whetted by the news of the nature of Mackenzie's visit, became more impatient for further information on the progress toward a sale.<sup>21</sup> In November they were informed that, while the negotiations were still being carried on, public discussion would be inexpedient.<sup>22</sup> But by June, 1876, with no word yet from Mackenzie, the Governor and Committee began to prepare the shareholders for an announcement of the failure of the negotiations. The shareholders were asked to bear in mind that continued depression in the state of trade of the Dominion might make it difficult for the Government to conclude the purchase for the time being.<sup>23</sup>

This was an accurate statement of the causes for delay, as Edward Blake, the Attorney-General of Canada, informed Goschen during his visit to London during the summer of 1876. Between the departure of Mackenzie and the arrival of Blake the condition of the Canadian economy had deteriorated and the resistance of the Cabinet to any new schemes involving heavy expenditures had strengthened.<sup>24</sup>

Blake's instructions were, therefore, to inform Goschen that Canada was unable to assume the obligation of purchasing the reserves. This announcement Goschen had expected, but he insisted that Canada and the Company must mutually agree to make a discreet statement of the causes of the breakdown of negotiations. He suggested that the announcement should be to the effect

<sup>19</sup>Mackenzie to Goschen, Aug. 18, 1875, A-8/13.

<sup>20</sup>This is the reason he later gave to Goschen for his failure to conclude the agreement. Mackenzie to Goschen, Sept. 30, 1876, A-8/13.

<sup>21</sup>See *Report of the Governor and Committee to the Shareholders* of June 29, 1875, and *Proceedings of the General Court of Proceedings of the General Court of Proprietors* of the same date. These will be cited hereafter as *Report* and *Proceedings*.

<sup>22</sup>*Report*, Nov. 10, 1875; *Proceedings*, Nov. 10, 1875.

<sup>23</sup>*Report*, June 27, 1876.

<sup>24</sup>Mackenzie to Goschen, Sept. 30, 1876, A-8/13.



that "owing to the financial condition of the country it was thought inexpedient to continue the negotiations and that they had on that ground been ended with the mutual understanding that the papers, the production of which could not be useful and might embarrass future negotiations, should be kept private." To this wording the Canadian Government agreed,<sup>25</sup> and the prospects of the favourable conditions that had nearly brought agreement in the summer of 1875 did not return.

With hope ended for the sale of its land, the Company returned to its previous importunate pressure for a settlement of its outstanding claims, notably those for losses in the Red River Rebellion;<sup>26</sup> Canada retaliated by the suggestion that the determination of the boundary between the province of Upper Canada and the old Hudson's Bay territory might greatly reduce the area from which the Company would be privileged to receive land,<sup>27</sup> and the tone of communication became noticeably cooler.<sup>28</sup>

The failure of the negotiations of 1875 was unfortunate from the standpoint of future settlers in the Canadian West. Had the agreement been consummated, the Company would have received approximately forty cents per acre for its holdings.<sup>29</sup> Though continued possession of land brought little revenue to the Company until the beginning of the twentieth century, the profits to shareholders thereafter dwarfed the returns which the agreement of 1875 would have provided. Net profits from land sales for the years 1908 to 1913 alone were £2,715,261.<sup>30</sup> Canadians of the twentieth century paid many-fold for the "econoies" made necessary by the panic of 1873.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>Goschen to Mackenzie, Oct. 30, 1876; same to same, June 19, 1877; Goschen to R. W. Scott, Secretary of State for Canada, Nov. 6, 1877; William Armit to Scott, Nov. 5, 1877, etc., A-8/13.

<sup>27</sup>Scott to Goschen, Nov. 23, 1876; same to same, Nov. 25, 1876; Goschen to Scott, Dec. 12, 1876; same to same, March 6, 1877, A-8/13.

<sup>28</sup>Agreement was finally reached in 1879 to submit the dispute over Red River losses to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. See William Armit, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, to Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, June 20, 1879, A-8/13.

<sup>29</sup>The amount of land finally allocated to the Company was approximately 6,630,000 acres.

<sup>30</sup>*Reports*, 1908-13.

## A NOTE ON THE PASSAMAQUODDY BOUNDARY AFFAIR

CARL GEORGE WINTER

THE northeastern boundary of the United States has provided the dispute of longest duration between the Republic and another country. The controversy started in 1764 between the colonies of Massachusetts and Nova Scotia and continued to 1910. This boundary from Passamaquoddy Bay to the St. Lawrence River, 824.9 miles in length, is only a small portion of the line which extends almost four thousand miles to the Pacific, yet this portion has caused more difficulties than all the rest combined. It was mentioned in seven treaties and was the scene of an arbitration in 1831 that failed, as well as being the place where the "Aroostook War" of 1839, a bloodless war of one month, occurred. The story of the dispute and the settlement is well known except for the last phase, that which dealt with the eastern end of Passamaquoddy Bay.

Writing of the Passamaquoddy Bay boundary David Starr Jordan<sup>1</sup> related a story illustrating the ease with which boundary disputes could be settled. According to Jordan, Secretary of State Philander C. Knox (1909-13) claimed that he and Ambassador James Bryce of Great Britain met to arbitrate the national ownership of islands in the bay. After examining a map of the area one of the two drew a line and remarked: "The line should be drawn here." The other agreed and the international boundary was fixed.<sup>2</sup> This simple tale of how the boundary was established is in striking contrast to the story as told by the documents of the negotiations.

Secretary of State Elihu Root, Knox's predecessor, desired a policy of friendship with all American neighbours. To further this policy he hired Chandler P. Anderson who had been secretary to the American members of the Joint High Commission of 1898-9 between Canada and the United States. Anderson was to work solely on Anglo-American problems. In 1906 Anderson submitted to Root a memorandum on the northeastern boundary in which he pointed out that in Passamaquoddy Bay the line from the island of Pope's Folly to the ocean had never been surveyed or charted. Ownership of the island, which was north of Lubec, Maine, was in dispute and a treaty would be necessary to solve the problem. The rest of the boundary, from the mouth of the St. Croix River to the St. Lawrence, needed to be re-marked with monuments to take the place of those lost or destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

The re-location of the line in the St. Croix River was shown to be necessary after a survey of the territory in 1905 by an American and a Canadian surveyor. The two men found that the boundary markers had been placed so close to the water that many had been washed away; some were found in the river. Worse yet, the markers on land did not indicate which islands

<sup>1</sup>President of Stanford University and International Fish Commissioner of the United States, 1908-11.

<sup>2</sup>David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man* (New York, 1922), II, 336-7.

<sup>3</sup>Root to Durand, May 3, 1906, Confidential pamphlet of the State Department on "Negotiations Relating to Unsettled Questions with Canada," Chandler P. Anderson Papers, Congressional Library.

belonged to Canada and which to the United States. Originally national ownership had been determined by the volume of water which passed on each side of an island. When the larger volume was close to the American shore an island was held to be Canadian and *vice versa*. When the amount of water was a doubtful indicator the citizenship of the inhabitants determined the national ownership. The opinion of the American surveyor was that the United States would lose nothing if all the Canadian contentions were upheld in a final settlement, as the islands were of little value.<sup>4</sup>

Lack of a boundary in the eastern end of Passamaquoddy Bay had already been a cause for contention. In July, 1891 several United States fishing boats were seized in the bay opposite Eastport, Maine as it was claimed they were in Canadian waters.<sup>5</sup> This incident emphasized the importance of marking the boundary. The settlement of the line would establish the national ownership of Pope's Folly Island as well as of the fishing grounds to the south of Lubec Narrows, which separates Campobello Island from Maine, where the flats were filled with weirs owned by Lubec fishermen. Through the Lubec Narrows and in the bay below there had been two ship channels, the United States claiming that the eastern channel was the original ship channel. In 1878 the United States Army Engineers had started to dredge the western channel to a depth of 12 feet for a width of 200 yards. This then became the main ship channel. In 1884 the width was made 275 yards and in 1904 increased to 500 yards.<sup>6</sup> The deepening of the western channel rendered the eastern one worthless for ships. The area between the two channels was where the American fishermen had set up their weirs. If Canada could claim the dredged-out channel as the boundary, all the fishing grounds would belong to her.

The Canadian authorities agreed that the boundary should be re-marked<sup>7</sup> and Root wrote to Senator Eugene Hale of Maine on February 15, 1907, explaining the need for new monumentation of the boundary since the loss of markers in the St. Croix River raised the question of ownership of some of the river islands. A hope was expressed that Senator Hale could refer Root to local sources where information could be obtained as to what the understandings were with respect to national ownership. Information was also requested on the ownership and value of Pope's Folly Island along with the fishing claims by American fishermen in the channel below the island.<sup>8</sup> The people of Maine were thus given notice through their Senator that an adjustment of the border was being contemplated and they could take care of their own interests.

A treaty covering the entire boundary was signed on April 11, 1908, and the marking and charting progressed smoothly except in the Passamaquoddy Bay area. The treaty provided that briefs supporting the claims of each country be exchanged six months after ratification. Then six months more would be allowed for settlement. Any part not settled by that time was to be submitted to arbitration.

<sup>4</sup>Baylor to Tittman, Feb. 9, 1907, Anderson Papers.

<sup>5</sup>Report of Commissioner T. C. Mendenhall, July 22, 1892, *ibid*.

<sup>6</sup>Report of Chief Engineers, United States Army, Sept. 2, 1908, *ibid*.

<sup>7</sup>Laurier to Grey, draft of answer to Root, Sept. 25, 1906, Laurier Papers. (The author could find only Laurier's broad general views on the subject in the collection of Laurier Papers in the Public Archives of Canada.)

<sup>8</sup>Anderson draft letter to Senator Hale, Feb. 15, 1907, National Archives of the United States, hereafter cited as N.A., Numerical File 267.

Otto Tittman, Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, was appointed United States Boundary Commissioner on June 13, 1908 and William Frederick King, Dominion Astronomer, was appointed the British Commissioner on June 27.<sup>9</sup> Tittman in his researches in early maps of the area found that the United States Hydrographic Chart of 1876, the first of the region published by that office, showed the boundary passing to the east of Pope's Folly, making the island part of the United States. The 1891 chart showed the boundary passing to the west of the island making it part of Canada. The British Admiralty charts were no clearer as to ownership. Chart number 2020, edition of 1843, published November 15, 1850 showed the boundary passing to the west of Pope's Folly, while chart number 352, edition of 1862, published May 30, 1865 showed the boundary passing to the east of the island.<sup>10</sup> To complicate the problem further Tittman found a Pope's Folly near Lubec Narrows and a Pope Island in British territory on the same chart. A tracing of the Maine coast in 1837 called both islands Pope's Folly.<sup>11</sup>

Secretary Root wanted someone familiar with local conditions to help on the case and hired Frederick Hale of Portland, Maine, of the law firm of Verrill, Hale, and Booth, to help Chandler P. Anderson prepare the American brief. Hale visited Eastport and Lubec and found that at Eastport the people were indifferent to the boundary location but that the Lubec people were very much concerned because of their fishing weirs. In 1908 the fish were plentiful and the weirs highly valued. Such was not always the case, as in some years the fish did not go to that part of the bay and the weirs brought no profit. Hale checked historical societies and libraries and interviewed antiquarians of the region in preparing the brief. In the Maine Historical Society papers he found that the commissioners of the United States and Great Britain under the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, when deciding on boundary islands based their decisions on possession and occupancy and not on colonial grants. Unfortunately, Pope's Folly was not mentioned by them nor marked on their charts. Hale thought that the strongest argument for American ownership would be to prove that an American owned the island before 1814. He found that in 1785 the state of Massachusetts made a grant to a John Allen of an island answering the description of Pope's Folly. He thought that probably Pope had bought out Allen but never recorded his purchase.<sup>12</sup>

Tittman also tried to find out who owned the island before 1814 and discovered in the Royal Society of Canada papers for 1906 a grant of a Mark Island (sometimes claimed to be Pope's Folly) to a man named David Owen on June 12, 1806.<sup>13</sup> The Campobello Company, an American company, owned a Journal and Survey Book by an Admiral Owen, a register book of deeds and leases pertaining to the area, which an agent of the company had turned over to the Canadian negotiators. When the Americans requested the Owen book the Canadians said they would return it in October, 1908, but they had not

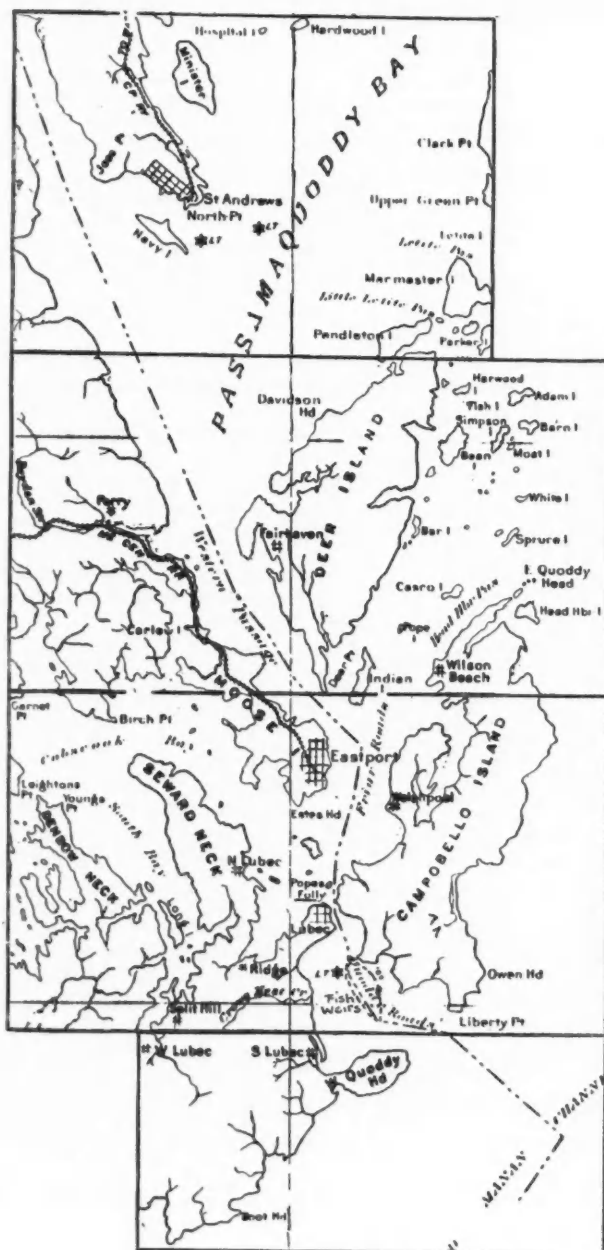
<sup>9</sup>Adee to Anderson, July 20, 1908, *ibid.*; Root to Tittman, June 13, 1908, N.A., Numerical File 839.

<sup>10</sup>Anderson to Root, Feb. 8, 1907, N.A., Numerical File 267.

<sup>11</sup>Tittman to Anderson, March 7, 1907, Anderson Papers.

<sup>12</sup>Hale to Anderson, Aug. 26, 28, 29, Sept. 22, 1908, *ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>Anderson to Hale, Nov. 4, 1908, *ibid.*



Photostatic copy of a map, RG 76, Records of Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations, March 9, 1934, from the Map Room of the National Archives. Scale approximately 3 miles to the inch.

done so by November 25. Hale requested Root to get the book but thought it too late to use the findings as the briefs were due on December 4.

In the middle of November the Canadian Government, in order to avoid the expense of arbitration, proposed that the United States take the island and Canada receive the fishing grounds, or, if preferred, the arrangement could be reversed. Secretary Root instructed Hale to find out the attitude of the local people to such an arrangement. Hale employed B. M. Pike of Lubec to ascertain the feelings of the local people. Pike wrote Hale on January 14, 1909 that the people of Eastport would rather have the island while the people of Lubec wanted the fishing grounds in preference to the island. He marked a line on a chart showing the boundary that would satisfy the weir owners. Pike's opinion was that Canada did not want the island but preferred the fishing privileges in the bay.<sup>14</sup>

The briefs containing the case of each Government were exchanged on December 3, 1908. The Canadians did not accompany their briefs with the necessary certified copies of the charts used or the documents referred to in their statements, although the Canadian Department of Justice informed the Campobello Company that Admiral Owen's record book, which was used in the Canadian brief, could not be returned until the boundary was settled.<sup>15</sup> A formal request for the charts, documents, and Owen's record book was made by Secretary of State Knox to British Ambassador Bryce on March 24, 1909.

In April Bryce wrote Earl Grey, Governor-General of Canada, that he had heard Dr. William F. King was being sent to Washington to confer with Chandler P. Anderson on the briefs and to try to arrange a compromise. Bryce suggested that King bring with him the charts requested by the United States. The Ambassador stressed the saving of time and money if the case could be settled without reference to arbitration. Dr. King and Bryce met with Chandler P. Anderson on April 28, 1909. Anderson at the start of the conference stressed that all discussions were to be unofficial and without prejudice. Dr. King then proposed the boundary be made a straight line. This would give the United States the island which Canada was willing to surrender because there would be less popular opposition to that than to giving up the fishing claims. A straight line would also make the boundary run along the dredged channel leaving the fishing grounds on the Canadian side. Anderson replied that the island and fishing grounds were not an equal balance since all evidence showed that the island was of American ownership and no private Canadian rights were being sacrificed, while the surrender of the fishing grounds meant sacrifice of private American interests. He pointed out that the treaty of 1814 agreed the boundary should run north of Campobello Island leaving to the United States everything south of the line except Campobello. Since there was more than one channel the United States could insist that the channel nearest Campobello be the boundary, but Anderson proposed instead that the line be drawn across the fishing flats so as to leave the important weirs in United States territory. King said this was satisfactory to him but it would be difficult to get his Government to agree as it would need an equivalent consideration to show its people for giving up the island.

<sup>14</sup>Pike to Hale, Jan. 14, 1909, *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>Anderson to Hale, Nov. 18, 1908, Pike to Hale, Jan. 14, 1909, Hale to Anderson, Feb. 1, 1909, *ibid.*

Anderson replied that he could not justify surrender of the fishing grounds unless private American interests were provided for in some manner.<sup>16</sup>

Counsellor Hale, when told of the conference, agreed that it would be better to compromise than to arbitrate. He suggested a line that would leave two weirs on the American side and one on the Canadian. Anderson wrote King on May 7, again stated his proposals were without prejudice, proposed the idea of running the boundary through the middle of the fishing weirs, and suggested another conference. King answered six days later asking that the proposed line be drawn on a map and sent to the Canadian Government. Bryce and Anderson expected King to arrive in Washington before the deadline on June 4 but he did not show up or send any word. Instead, the Canadian Government merely informed Bryce it could not accept the "compromise" and the entire matter would have to go to arbitration.

Anderson discussed the problem with Secretary Knox and was authorized to say that if there was a possibility of settlement without going to arbitration the attempt should be made. Both Anderson and Knox felt that the Canadian Government was under a misapprehension in regard to the negotiations. All discussions held with Dr. King were without prejudice and subject to the approval of the United States and the Dominion governments. The position of the United States Government had never been stated officially and no compromise had been proposed. Similarly the American negotiators were in the dark as to the wishes of the Canadian Government. Bryce sent this information to the Dominion authorities unofficially and in return was informed that the Canadian Government thought Anderson was acting officially though informally. They had not sent Dr. King back to Washington as they thought the time was so short he could not have effected anything by going. Officially the Canadian Government expressed the wish that the preparations for arbitration should continue. The Department of State informed Anderson that he and Hale were to prepare the American reply.<sup>17</sup> In a letter to Hale Anderson expressed surprise that the Canadian Government insisted on immediate arbitration, especially since they had not as yet supplied the Americans with several of the important documents referred to in their first brief.<sup>18</sup>

Bryce's opinion was that the Passamaquoddy problem was too small to arbitrate and he continually urged a compromise. He visited the area in person that summer of 1909 and then asked if there was any chance that the United States would accept Dr. King's proposal. Anderson replied that he did not know what proposal King submitted on behalf of his Government. If his offer referred to a line drawn so that Canada would get all the fishing grounds, then that would not be acceptable. Bryce answered unofficially that the Canadian Government meant by its offer that the United States was to have Pope's Folly Island and Canada the entire fishing grounds. He feared the negotiations had arrived at an *impasse* as the proposal to have the line go through the fishing grounds proved unacceptable to Canada.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Bryce to Grey, April 22, 1909, Laurier Papers; Anderson to Hale, April 28, 1909, Anderson Papers.

<sup>17</sup>Hale to Anderson, April 30, May 3, Anderson to King, May 7, King to Anderson, May 13, Bryce to Anderson, June 3, 5, 29, July 10, Anderson to Bryce, June 25, July 22, Bryce to Knox, July 15, Huntington Wilson to Anderson, Aug. 4, 1909, *ibid*.

<sup>18</sup>Anderson to Verrill, Hale, and Booth, July 24, 1909, *ibid*.

<sup>19</sup>Bryce to Anderson, Sept. 15, 23, Anderson to Bryce, Sept. 21, 1909, *ibid*.



On September 23 the United States Government officially stated that it was prepared to take up the selection of an arbitrator. It was willing to waive the technical objection that the Canadian Government did not accompany its brief with copies of maps, documents, and records referred to in it. But, if not given the opportunity to examine this evidence, the United States would be obliged to take the position that the statements made were unsupported by evidence.<sup>20</sup> The Canadians then forwarded certified copies of the maps and charts referred to in their case and offered to furnish certified copies of such parts of Owen's register as might be required.<sup>21</sup>

On November 18 Anderson wrote to Verrill, Hale, and Booth that the Canadian Government had proposed a compromise settlement, the boundary to run through the main channel below the Lubec Narrows and midway between Pope's Folly and Campobello Island above the Narrows. This gave the United States the choice of the island and a little more water above the narrows or the southern fishing grounds and a little less area above the narrows. Secretary Knox wanted to be advised as to the attitude of the local people to such an arrangement. Verrill, Hale, and Booth in answer said neither arrangement seemed satisfactory to the local people. The fishing grounds were of more value than the island, yet only a few people were concerned with the fishing grounds while ownership of the island and control of the channel would benefit more people. On the whole they preferred the island and the ship channel. Anderson then asked Hale to find out exactly what value the owners of the fish weirs placed on their property and suggested options be obtained on the weirs. B. M. Pike was asked to obtain the options, and the combined value of the weirs was held to be \$4,003. He found that if the weir owners were bought out by the Government there would be no dissatisfaction among the Lubec people if Canada obtained the fishing grounds. People of the area felt one provision should be included in the treaty—each Government should have the right to deepen or widen the channel below the narrows at its own expense without changing the boundary. This was suggested because there were two curves in the channel, one on the American side and one on the Canadian side. Straightening the channel would make the centre closer to the American side and shift the boundary. In response to this request Anderson drew up a provision in the treaty that either party could improve or deepen the channel to a width not to exceed 65 metres or 213 feet on each side without changing the boundary.<sup>22</sup>

Ambassador Bryce, on January 12, 1910, suggested that the Secretary of State write a formal letter embodying American acceptance of the compromise and proposing a treaty. He expressed himself as extremely glad that the matter was being settled by compromise as it was evidence of the friendly spirit governing the relations of the two countries. The Canadian Government replied on February 7 stating Canada was willing to accept a treaty on the basis suggested. The treaty was signed on May 21, 1910. Anderson convinced Senator Hale of Maine that the local people involved were content with the

<sup>20</sup>Adee to Bryce, Sept. 23, 1909, N.A., Numerical File 839.

<sup>21</sup>Innes to Adee, Oct. 25, 1909, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup>Anderson to Pike, March 10, 1910, *ibid.*; Verrill, Hale, and Booth to Wilson, Nov. 5, 1909, Anderson to Verrill, Hale, and Booth, Nov. 18, 1909, Verrill, Hale, and Booth to Anderson, Nov. 22, Dec. 29, 1909, Anderson Papers.

solution, and there was no opposition to the treaty in the Senate, which approved ratification on June 6, 1910.<sup>23</sup>

The Passamaquoddy Bay boundary affair was the last dispute over a boundary line between the United States and Canada. Edward C. Barnard succeeded Otto Tittman as Commissioner on the latter's retirement in 1915. On February 11, 1916, Barnard and King suggested a convention be made which would extend the eastern end of the boundary in Grand Manan Channel out to sea until it was three miles from shore. This proposal was incorporated as one of the provisions of the treaty signed on February 24, 1925, by Charles Evan Hughes, Secretary of State of the United States, and Ernest Lapointe, Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries, which also provided for a permanent boundary commission to keep the boundary markers in repair.<sup>24</sup> This treaty established the boundary in its present form and provided for its upkeep, making it one of the best-defined boundaries in the world.

<sup>23</sup>Bryce to Anderson, Jan. 12, 1910, Bryce to Knox, Feb. 7, 1910, Anderson Papers; N.A., Decimal File 711.42151, July 26, Aug. 12, 25, 1910.

<sup>24</sup>N.A., Decimal File 711.42151, March 25, 1915, Feb. 11, 1916, April 7, 1924.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician.* By DONALD CREIGHTON. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1952. Pp. xiv, 526, with maps and illustrations. \$5.75.

THE appearance of this excellent book is something of an event in Canadian historiography. It was in 1894—just three years after Sir John Macdonald's death—that Sir Joseph Pope's monumental official biography appeared. A slightly revised edition was published in 1930, but there has never been another full-length study of Macdonald. Pope's volumes were and still are very valuable; but they were written very close to the events and by a close associate of Macdonald, they were largely uncritical, and they consisted mainly of extracts from Macdonald's correspondence strung together on a thread of narrative. We have needed a more detached study of Macdonald in relation to his times, one that would draw upon a wider range of source material and provide a more mature interpretation. This volume is the first instalment of it. As any good biography of Macdonald must, it amounts to a history of Canadian politics in the period.

In a day when so much that passes for history is characterized by slovenly and incomplete research and halting and slipshod composition, it is a pleasure to come across a book like this one. For this volume is the product of many years' investigation of original sources. And it is written, as those who know Professor Creighton's earlier works would expect, in lucid and literate English. From the opening description of Kingston as it was when the Macdonalds first saw it in 1820 down to the skilfully contrived epilogue which depicts the first Dominion Day, the reader is carried along on a broad stream of lively, informed, and polished narrative. If more Canadian historians wrote like this, it is possible that more Canadian citizens might take to reading the history of their country. Mr. Creighton has made the most of his theme, which is one of the best that Canada's story has to offer. The uniquely vivid Macdonald personality, the peculiar charm that speaks across the years to everyone who does any extended work in the Macdonald Papers, have been admirably caught and communicated in this book.

The most important source used by the author has been that tremendous and invaluable collection in the Public Archives, which has never been so fully utilized as here. But he has also done a great deal of work in other manuscripts at Ottawa and in Canadian newspaper files; and his researches in the Public Record Office and the Royal Archives at Windsor have elicited a good many documents relevant to the Confederation story which had not previously seen the light. The use of these and lesser sources adds up to a singularly thorough piece of original investigation, and in these circumstances it seems ungrateful to complain that some monographic material has been neglected. However, at certain points the author could usefully have made more reference to the work of earlier students. It is particularly surprising to find that he nowhere refers to the late R. G. Trotter's writings on Confederation. Much material came to light after Trotter's book was published in 1924, and he never got around to producing a revision; but his work has great value nevertheless.

To give one example, his account of the formation of the Great Coalition, published in this journal in 1922, is more complete than Mr. Creighton's, particularly as to the part played by Lord Monck. This reviewer indeed feels that Mr. Creighton has underestimated Monck generally. He accepts as an adequate summary a patronizing comment upon him written by Macdonald twenty-two years after Confederation. The elderly Prime Minister, in a mood of inaccurate reminiscence, bracketed Monck with Buckingham (who, he had forgotten, did not become Colonial Secretary until the B.N.A. Bill was almost through Parliament) as "good men, certainly, but quite unable, from the constitution of their minds, to rise to the occasion." That this was unjust there is ample evidence in Monck's despatches, particularly the second one dated September 7, 1866, in which he argues that the new federation should be termed a Kingdom.

It is natural and perhaps even desirable that a biographer should in some degree look at men and things through the eyes of his subject. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Elgin condescendingly described as "a fairly astute observer" and Sir Edmund Head called "a great governor." But this is not to accuse Mr. Creighton of lack of objectivity. He is certainly far from sympathetic to Macdonald's great antagonist George Brown, but it seems to this reviewer that he strives with considerable success to avoid being unfair to him. Macdonald's own weakness for the bottle is frankly dealt with. Generally speaking, the book interprets events in a spirit of urbane good temper. An exception, perhaps, is its treatment of relations with the United States. Admittedly, ill temper was the main characteristic of Canadian-American relations in the days of the Hunters and the Fenians; but the reader gets the impression that the author has not taken pains to understand the problems and policies of the American government. Incidentally, in a book notable for precision and accuracy, one of the few slips is the designation of the celebrated Captain Wilkes as "Captain Walker."

This volume ends at 1867, which means that the larger portion of Mr. Creighton's task still lies before him. It is also the most important portion, for Pope's book virtually ends with 1873 and we have never had a reliable guide to the last eighteen years of Macdonald's life. In many ways likewise the years after 1867 are the most interesting of Macdonald's career. Deft as is Mr. Creighton's treatment of the politics of the Province of Canada, they are small matters and dull compared with the issues of the national period. His second volume will therefore be awaited with some eagerness.

Biography has not been our strongest point in Canada. With this volume Mr. Creighton breaks a new trail. It is to be hoped that he will have followers. But we have not many scholars possessed of the patience and the skill that are required to produce a book as good as this one.

C. P. STACEY

Army Headquarters, Ottawa

*The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793. I. Discovery and Revolution.* By VINCENT T. HARLOW. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1952. Pp. viii, 664. \$8.10.

READERS of Professor Harlow's "The New Imperial System, 1783-1815" in volume II of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire* will already be

acquainted with the quality of the major ideas of this first volume of a two-volume study of the origins of the Second British Empire. The present work makes a searching analysis into developments in the First Empire between 1763 and 1783, and the changes produced by revolution in America and Ireland and the world war of 1778-83, which contributed to the rise and growth of the Second Empire. This first volume is a major contribution to imperial history in a period hitherto strangely neglected and often misunderstood, and students of American and Canadian, as well as of imperial history, will have reason to search its pages for a long time to come. The second volume will carry the work down to 1793, except for Ireland, the study of which is here completed.

*Discovery and Revolution* is essentially a study in continuity and relationships. Its premise, that the origins of the Second Empire are to be found in the First, is not as elementary as it may first seem in view of the still lingering tendency to regard the treaty settlement of 1783 as marking the end of a period in imperial history and as a cataclysm which left Britain seriously weakened and quite disillusioned with empire. Professor Harlow has always insisted that British imperialism was commercial and naval rather than political and territorial. The revolt of the Thirteen Colonies represented a political failure and territorial loss which left the commercial and naval strength of the Empire practically unimpaired. The expansion of British commerce and sea power was resumed at once after 1783, and both met the terrible testing of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, not so much because they had recovered from the loss of the colonies and the War of Independence as because they had been continuously increasing since 1763 under the drive of the Industrial Revolution.

It was the continuous growth of British commerce and sea power which carried the Empire over the shock of the events of 1776-83. Professor Harlow contends that the growth was much in evidence during the twenty years preceding 1783 in the search for new markets, not in territories to be colonized—English colonization had ceased and emigration was frowned on—but in lands already peopled. Hence the resumption of the Tudor enterprise to discover new lands in the South Sea, among them the *Terra Australis Incognita*, and to link them with England by way of the North-West Passage. The first chapter is therefore devoted to the voyages of Bryon and of Cook in the Pacific, which were not only to result in the English claims to New Zealand and Australia, but also to weave a far flung net of relationships involving the exploration of the Pacific coast of Canada and the lonely journey of Samuel Hearne. The same search for new markets in territories already peopled led to the beginning of English enterprise in the East Indies and laid the foundations for the China trade of the East India Company.

The attempt to extend British commerce in the Pacific and Indian Oceans led to the establishment of naval bases to safeguard the routes into those seas. The occupation of the Falkland Islands in 1770 resulted in a crisis with Spain, and the need of a base in southern Africa coloured relations with a declining Holland again threatened with French domination. The handling of Anglo-French rivalry with respect to the Dutch Empire is one of the best parts of the book. This extended rivalry with the old enemies, Spain and France, together with the provisions of the treaty of 1763, laid the ground

for the world war of 1778-83, and raised issues which were not to be settled until 1815, when the great period of the Second Empire began.

That world war was precipitated, however, by the successful revolt of the American colonies. Professor Harlow does not examine the causes of the American Revolution in detail but confines himself to his imperial theme by pointing out that British resistance to political radicalism in the colonies was spurred on by the fear of the growing political radicalism in Great Britain. This emphasis on the unity of metropolitan and colonial history is as instructive for the student of American as of British history. The two related problems of the West and of defence, however, are treated at some length, for the British saw the West not as a field for settlement but as a market for British goods to be defended at the least possible cost. After the failure to make it an Indian reserve and to raise a portion of the costs of defence in the colonies, it was comparatively easy to decide that it might be best to let the Americans colonize and garrison it, since they would be even better customers than the Indians.

For what this study makes clear is that once it became evident that the suppression of American radicalism was going to be beyond the strength of Britain, threatened by war with France, British statesmen were only too eager to grant the Americans self-government, provided British commerce could be safeguarded and some provision made for imperial defence. In the abortive proposals of North for reconciliation in 1778, of an importance to the Second Empire which contrasts strangely with the neglect accorded them, there began a trend of imperial policy which influenced the peace made with America and the new relationship attempted with Ireland between 1782 and 1793. This trend towards a delimitation of imperial powers, and the outspoken belief of pamphleteers like Dean Tucker that the loss of the colonies was to be welcomed, were important ingredients in the development of the Second Empire once the reaction to the French Revolution began to pass.

The study of the peace settlement of 1783 is a masterly analysis of that intricate and much studied tangle of negotiation. What emerges is, first, a definitive characterization of the enigmatic and long-sighted figure of Shelburne, who "possessed the necessary intellect for his enormous task" but "lacked the necessary personality," and, second, a rounded view of the negotiations which, carried on under the fierce pressure of British politics, recognized the independence of the United States, checked the resurgent imperialism of the Bourbon powers, and preserved the commerce and sea power of the Empire. The negotiations are of particular interest to the Canadian student, for from them derive the indefensible frontier, and the idea and the necessity of reciprocal trade with the United States. The failure of the attempt to establish commercial reciprocity between the Empire and the United States is richly documented.

The concluding chapters on the problems raised by the legislative independence of Ireland between 1782 and 1793 are of great interest to students of the Empire and Commonwealth. In this troubled area of "imperial" history, the two themes of the need to offset the grant of legislative independence with a commercial treaty and a grant for defence recur and are exhaustively treated.

The format of the book is strong and handsome; the index is satisfactory;

there are six useful maps; a bibliography would be a useful addition to the second volume. The following slips in dates have been noted: page 153, "collapse of Rockingham ministry (in 1765) [July, 1766]"; page 167, "In the spring of 1756 [1755] General Braddock was appointed. . ."; page 419, "the Regulating Act of 1772 [1773]."

W. L. MORTON

University of Manitoba

*Histoire du Canada par les textes.* Par MICHEL BRUNET, GUY FRÉGULT et MARCEL TRUDEL. Montréal, Paris: Fides. 1952. Pp. 297. \$3.50.

For the first time we have been given in Canada an edition of historical texts in the French language by French-speaking Canadians. This is a happy occurrence for Canadian history.

The three editors are all well-known figures in the academic circles of the province of Quebec. M. Guy Frégault is the holder of the Chair of Canadian History at the University of Montreal, where since 1950 he has been Vice-Dean. M. Marcel Trudel, a Doctor of Letters of Laval, became Associate Professor in that institution in 1949. M. Michel Brunet since 1949 has been teaching history at Montreal, where he is an Associate Professor. All three are relatively young men and already each is the author of various articles or books.

The collection is divided into two parts, before and after the year 1760. For the first part there are 30 texts of 100 pages and for the second, 65 texts of 177 pages. The first text is 1535 and its subject is appropriately Jacques Cartier before Quebec, the document drawn from Cartier's own *Voyages*. The last text carries the date of 1939 and deals with "Provincial Autonomy and the War."

The book divides into smaller periods as follows: seventeenth century, 54 pages; 1700-60, 50 pages; 1760-1800, 32 pages; 1791-1840, 38 pages; 1840-67, 38 pages; 1867 to the present, 82 pages. As to subjects, almost all the well-known constitutional documents can be found in the collection, the great constitutional statutes included, down to that of 1931. In the period from the Cession to Confederation, almost all the texts are concerned principally with the history of Canada as illustrated by affairs in the province of Quebec. This choice, it seems to me, is not entirely a happy one, as it gives a certain air of narrowness of scope to a book which otherwise is well worthy of praise. For the period since Confederation the texts given relate more especially to questions of nationalism within Quebec, although several of these texts apply to the wider question of Canadian nationalism as contrasted with French-Canadian nationalism.

The collection will be most useful, especially for the French side of our history. It nevertheless shows that there is still a considerable tendency in Canada to identify Canadian history with provincial history. I hope that in that wider and more generous future into which French-speaking Canadians are about to enter, their historical interpretations will grow with their lot and cause them to mingle in one stream the history of the two races which make our common country.

A. R. M. LOWER

Queen's University



*Le Grand Marquis: Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil et la Louisiane.* Par GUY FRÉGULT. Les Etudes de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française. Montréal, Paris: Fides. 1952. Pp. 483. \$3.50.

THE neglect of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, last French Governor-general of Canada, as a subject of historical research, has been a curious fact. Professor Frégault attributes this neglect to the difficulty of getting at a large body of documents, divided among many archives and libraries, and to certain psychological factors, namely, that Vaudreuil has appeared a "dull and insignificant" person, and that his role in history has seemed to be "definitively allotted." Frégault's analysis seems to me to be a correct one. It is only adding a footnote to his last reason to say that Vaudreuil has been overshadowed by Montcalm, and that his name has been so associated with defeat and with the collapse of New France that his career has appealed neither to English historians, who emphasized the later period or the story of conquest, nor to the French, who did not relish that part of their past. This neglect has left a gap in historical knowledge which the author of this biography is making a resolute effort to fill. At the same time he wishes to correct a traditionally one-sided view of Vaudreuil whom he sees not as a man of defeat, associated primarily with a collapsing régime, but rather as the embodiment of a new nation just beginning in that day to find its place in the world. "We do not affirm," he says, "that the Grand Marquis wished it so but he found himself the incarnation of the aspirations, the hopes and the resistance of the people to whom he belonged."

This volume deals with Vaudreuil's family background, then moves on to his career as Governor of Louisiana, a post which he held from 1743 to 1753. The greater part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the Governor's handling of the Indian wars, especially the Choctaw rebellion, his repeated troubles with administrative officials, most difficult of whom was Honoré Michel de la Rouvillière whose hostility strongly affected Vaudreuil's career, his efforts for the defence of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, and his success in assuring economic prosperity to Louisiana in spite of European and American wars. The picture which emerges is one of a man who, though not without shortcomings, rises above personal conflicts, and makes use of a very faulty system of colonial administration to give a competent and courageous rule to an isolated and neglected colony. M. Frégault's comment on Vaudreuil, made at the end of his chapter on Michel, will serve as a summary of the Governor's whole career in Louisiana, "... the man, in the final analysis, is worth more than the system in which he is caught."

The story of how Vaudreuil was finally chosen as Governor-general of New France is told in detail. We see the endless intrigues, rumours, and uncertainties, so characteristic of the favourite-ridden Court of Louis XV. We see also the growing desire of the *Canadiens* who, becoming restive under the incompetent and graft-encrusted rule of metropolitan French administration, wanted one of their own people in the Governor's seat. Their knowledge of Vaudreuil's successful term in Louisiana greatly strengthened their desire. After most devious negotiations Vaudreuil finds himself appointed, and comes to take over his new responsibilities at a moment of gravest crisis.

Professor Frégault's appraisal is clearly and convincingly argued. He has buttressed his presentation with sedulous documentation, the product of a

careful examination of a great deal of new documentary material in Quebec, Ottawa, Washington, New Orleans, and in the Huntington Library in California. He is to be congratulated for presenting a fresh and challenging new approach to a subject which, under his pen, is anything but dull. We look forward to his future discussion of Vaudreuil's Canadian career with the greatest of interest.

The University of Toronto

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

*The History of Canada or New France*. Vol. II. By FRANÇOIS DU CREUX, s.j. Translated with an Introduction by PERCY J. ROBINSON; edited with notes by JAMES B. CONACHER. The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXI. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1952. Pp. viii, 405-776, xv.

LA Champlain Society avait annoncé qu'elle publierait au cours de l'automne 1952 le second volume de la traduction anglaise de *Historiæ Canadensis seu Novæ-Franciæ libri decem ad annum usque Christi MDCLVI* du père François Du Creux de la Compagnie de Jésus. Elle a tenu sa promesse. On retrouve dans ce second volume les qualités que nous avons déjà signalées dans le premier (cf. CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, June, 1952, p. 173) et dont il faut encore féliciter MM. Percy J. Robinson et James B. Conacher.

L'histoire du père Du Creux est divisée en dix livres qui ont été repartis également dans chacun des deux volumes de la Champlain Society. Le second volume commence donc avec le livre VI (1645-7) pour se terminer en 1656. Le père Du Creux annonçait en terminant son œuvre qu'il écrirait dix autres livres si Dieu lui prêtait vie mais il mourut peu de temps après 1664, année de la publication de *Historiæ Canadensis*. Les cinq derniers livres de Du Creux contiennent beaucoup de détails sur la destruction du pays des Hurons et sur le martyr des Pères Jésuites. Leur édition anglaise est accompagnée d'une illustration stylisée reproduite de l'édition originale et représentant les martyrs des dix Jésuites. Le second volume de la Champlain Society se termine par un excellent index de toute l'*Historiæ Canadensis*, index qui sera fort utile aux chercheurs.

Evidemment l'histoire de Du Creux ne contient pas beaucoup de faits qu'on ne puisse trouver dans les *Relations* des Jésuites, principale source de renseignements d'un auteur qui ne vint jamais au Canada, mais l'ouvrage demeure un des canadiens les plus rares et les plus précieux. Dans son édition latine il n'était utilisé que par un petit nombre. La Champlain Society a rendu accessible à tous un document de notre histoire.

Québec

JEAN-CHARLES BONENFANT

*Réalizations françaises de Cartier à Montcalm*. Par GUSTAVE LANCTOT. Montréal: Les Editions Chantecler Ltée. 1951. Pp. 212. \$1.75.

THIS work is a collection of studies in the history of New France published over the years from 1926 to 1948 in various periodicals and here made available to the reader within the covers of a single volume. The topic of the last of these essays, chapter VIII, is taken as the title of the book itself. The other chapters deal with Jacques Cartier, man and navigator; the abortive settlement of de la Roche on Sable Island; the early budgets of New France; the armed forces of New France; the municipal system of New France; economic

and military factors in the Seven Years' War in Canada; and the last effort of France in Canada—the story of the ill-fated but gallantly conducted expedition which was dispatched under the Sieur de la Giraudais from France to the rescue of Canada on April 10, 1760.

One is slightly surprised to find Radisson credited without qualification with having reached Hudson Bay (p. 197) and la Vérendrye with having reached the foothills of the Rocky Mountains (p. 203) despite the grave doubts which more recent research has cast on these alleged exploits. However, factual points which can be challenged are very few. For a quarter of a century Dr. Lanctot has been a leader among French-Canadian historians in throwing fresh light on the history of New France and these essays present in a lucid and interesting style the results of much painstaking research both in France and Canada. Those on the budget and the military and municipal systems illuminate corners of history which many historians have neglected, and it would be difficult to find in a similar compass a more just and penetrating summary of the history of the French régime than is given in Dr. Lanctot's concluding chapter on the achievements of New France from Cartier to Montcalm.

One is impressed also with the objectivity of Dr. Lanctot's book which is in such pleasing contrast to the tone of exaggerated nationalism which has marred the writing of too many French-Canadian historians—a bias which has not been without its English-Canadian parallels. Dr. Lanctot yields to no one in his love of the French-Canadian people and pride in their achievements both before and after the British conquest of Canada, but he treats the clash of racial, religious, and economic interests with an admirable balance and perspective. If their common history is to be a force uniting Canadians instead of sundering them it must be written in the scientifically objective spirit which characterizes this little book and Dr. Lanctot's work in general.

The University of Alberta

M. H. LONG

*A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints, 1751-1800.* By MARIE TREMAINE. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1952. Pp. xxviii, 705. \$10.00.

THERE is no doubt that Miss Tremaine has produced the book that will for a long time to come say the final word on this subject; of course a few additional imprints may be discovered, but they will certainly be so few as to be negligible. Moreover, Miss Tremaine has interpreted her task in the widest possible manner, for she includes not only books, pamphlets, leaflets, broadsides, and handbills, copies of which actually survive, but also works known to have been printed though no copy can be found, and even, as she writes, "works for which there was an authentic impulse for publication, that is, works projected by printers, but . . . rejected . . . by the community, and so not actually published in this country" (p. v). In all, she lists 1204 of these imprints, arranging them chronologically according to the year that appears on the title-page or in the colophon. Within each year they are arranged alphabetically by author's name, or, if there is no author, as in the case of almanacs, by title, or, in the case of government publications, by the name of the province that produced them. As there is in addition a very adequate index, this method of arrangement seems sound and makes consultation easy. For each entry full bibliographical data are given, together with a list of libraries

where copies have been located. There is also added, where a copy still survives, a careful summary of the contents, together with a note, often of considerable length, which deals with the occasion that called for this issue, with the printer, if he has not been discussed under an earlier heading, with the author, and with any contemporary references to the publication that may seem important. The result of all this is that Miss Tremaine has provided, along with her bibliography, a history of printing and printers, in addition to a great deal of valuable social and economic information in regard to Canada during the period 1751 to 1800.

As though this were not enough, she has added a carefully compiled bibliographical list of the twenty-three newspapers and two magazines that were published in Canada during this period, giving a detailed account of the character, objects, and fate of each, as well as an analytical list of what issues survive in libraries and other depositories.

In the five provinces there were sixteen printing offices, of which nine were still operating in 1800. Most of them tried to produce a newspaper, but what really kept the printer going was his salary for printing government documents, and this could be supplemented by profits from almanacs, for which there seems to have been a never ending demand; after these in importance came legal and legislative papers and books, and then innumerable but not very lucrative handbills and one- or two-page pamphlets. There were also a fair number of religious and devotional works, a few primers and elementary schoolbooks, and that was almost all; for literary reading the Canadian relied on what could be imported from Europe.

On only one matter would I like to take issue with Miss Tremaine: her abbreviations for the names of libraries and archives follow the Library of Congress Union Catalog (*sic*), dear to the heart of bibliographers; the result is that the Public Record Office in London appears as GBLP, instead of the P.R.O. that is hallowed by a hundred years of usage, and the Public Archives of Canada as CaOOA, an abbreviation that would appeal to no historian. Bibliographers try to justify these atrocities on the ground of consistency; but they are not themselves consistent: "Ca" begins every Canadian symbol, but there is no "US" before the American ones; Yale is CtY; supposedly no one could ignore the United States. Even Miss Tremaine is not consistent, for she uses Can.P.A. in her notes (e.g. pp. 20, 21, 110) and not the CaOOA that she employs elsewhere. This is, however, a very small point of criticism. Miss Tremaine has spent such time as was at her disposal for the past seventeen years in collecting the material for this book; as a thoroughly sound piece of bibliographical and historical scholarship it more than justifies the long years she has spent on it.

E. R. ADAIR

McGill University

*Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journal, 1775-82, First Series, 1775-9.*

Edited by E. E. RICH and A. M. JOHNSON; with an introduction by RICHARD GLOVER. The Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, XIV. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1951. Pp. xevi, 382, xiv.

THE story of the founding of Cumberland House on Pine Island Lake by Samuel Hearne in 1774 has been available since J. B. Tyrrell edited *The*

*Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor* for the Champlain Society in 1934. The Hudson's Bay Record Society has now published the Cumberland House journals kept by Matthew Cocking and others during the period from 1775 until 1779. This volume also includes Robert Longmoor's journal kept during the winter of 1778-9 while he was at the Pedlar post on the Saskatchewan. The Cumberland and Hudson House journals will be interspersed in a second volume which will carry the story down until 1782.

The period covered in these volumes is the critical one after the reopening of the highway to Montreal in 1764 when the "Pedlars," private traders chiefly from Montreal, as individuals or in groups, trespassed on the Company's lands and threatened its monopoly of trade on the inland waterways. Their competition forced the Company to substitute for its reliance on Indians carrying furs to the Bay forts, a policy of sending its own men inland to winter among the Indians and lead them to the Bay in summer. In this way there was developed, as Dr. Glover says, "a small nucleus of, as it were, British *coureurs de bois*" (xxvii-xxviii). The next step was to found an inland post. Matthew Cocking, the author of two of the journals here presented, was sent from York Fort in 1772-3 to check on information supplied by John Cole concerning conditions at Cedar Lake where a Pedlar post had been built on the route between the Saskatchewan and York. The following year, Cumberland House was built by Hearne, and after his departure Cocking was placed in charge of the post and its fourteen men. When Cocking was moved to Severn House in 1777, Cumberland House affairs were in good order although problems relating to supply had not been completely solved. William Tomison followed Cocking at Cumberland House.

The Cumberland House journals show that the Pedlars' practices were gradually imposed upon the Hudson's Bay Company. The Pedlars had, as Matthew Cocking said, the advantages of situation, quantities of goods and method of transportation. To offset their activities, Cocking sent some of his own men to peddle among the Indians and recommended the building of "out" settlements. When Cocking found that the Pedlars' use of rum in trading increased their returns, he reluctantly deviated from the York Fort rule restricting the use of liquor in trade. (Tomison was less flexible in this matter.) To lessen dependence on Indian services, and to increase the quantities of trading goods, he recommended changes in the transport system. He realized that the supply problem was related to the manpower problem. To solve both, he even went so far as to suggest that the Company employ an agent in Montreal who had no connection with the Pedlars, who would enlist French-Canadian *voyageurs* for specialized service. While he was willing to adjust his policies to meet the competition of the Pedlars, he steadfastly stood by the rule of fair treatment to the Indians. He foresaw that the debauchery of Indians and incitement to war among themselves would end in war between natives and white traders.

Dr. Glover's introduction puts the material in these journals in proper perspective. The foundations of the Company's 1821 victory over the Nor' West Company were, he believes, laid in this period. The maintenance of order and discipline within the ranks, the probity in business dealings, the tempered civility shown during visits of the Pedlars to Cumberland House, all formed part of a long-range policy. Signs of the later weaknesses of the Nor' West Company's organization and practices were also apparent.

The main difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company during this period were the lack of quick means of intercommunication, so that every decision of the London Committee "was unavoidably based on stale intelligence" (lvi); the lack of a natural focus of trade at the Bay to serve as an administrative centre; the shortage of manpower, particularly serious when the usual recruiting grounds in the Orkney Islands became exhausted as imperial wars increased demands for services of seamen; and the shortage of trading goods at the inland posts. Dr. Glover sees the Company's affairs on the Saskatchewan in relation not only to Company policy, but also to imperial policy. This is extremely helpful. At times, however, as when he cites the events leading up to Lapérouse's destruction of Prince of Wales's Fort and York Fort in 1782, he seems a little removed from the "remarkable occurrences" at the Company's posts.

Dr. Glover has been meticulous in his identification of flora and fauna. One wishes he had also supplied us with a map so that we could follow with ease the journeys of the inland traders.

MARGARET A. ORMSBY

The University of British Columbia

*David Thompson's Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions, 1808-1812.* Transcribed from a photostatic copy of the original manuscripts and edited with an Introduction by M. CATHERINE WHITE. Montana State University Studies, I. Missoula: Montana State University Press. 1950. Pp. clxii, 345.

THIS excellently produced volume contains 217 pages of Thompson's journals, prefaced by 150 pages of Miss White's introduction, and followed by 70 more pages of editorial material. Superficially, the editor's contribution may seem excessive, but the journals need plenty of background.

Miss White has properly relied much on J. B. Tyrrell's work, but for Arthur Morton she has regrettably little use. Morton criticized Thompson for not crossing the Rockies in 1807 or 1809, and (not without grounds) declared it "not safe to rely on" his evidence; from all this Miss White concluded that Morton was influenced "by personal prejudice" against Thompson. Hence, apparently, and most unfortunately, she refused to use his standard *History of the Canadian West*, which she cites but once, in a rather tangential footnote on the foundation of Churchill. She prefers Bryce (cited in two footnotes), Beckles Willson (cited in five footnotes), and even Agnes Laut (cited in six footnotes, and only twice with disagreement). The result of Miss White's preference for ancient publications is repetition of ancient errors. So, for example, we read that the Hudson's Bay Company were not "ready to follow up the work of" Henday (p. xxxvii); but their new policy, described by Morton, of regularly sending white travellers inland surely was a "follow-up" of Henday's work. On page xlvii Miss White either reveals a mistaken belief that the Hudson's Bay Company's inland posts were abandoned in 1783-6, or expresses herself unfortunately. She seems uncritically assured of Thompson's unvarying virtue, and her opinion, for example, that he was an "extremely conscientious" fur-trader (p. cx) is scarcely consistent with his own account of his trading conduct on page 380 of his *Narrative*.

One regrets such flaws as these because the bulk of Miss White's work is



so painstakingly and well done. Besides historians, naturalists may welcome her book for Thompson's observations on plants, fish, birds, and mammals.

RICHARD GLOVER

The University of Manitoba

*Strange Empire: A Narrative of the Northwest.* By J. K. HOWARD. Preface by BERNARD DE VOTO. New York. William Morrow and Co. [Toronto: George J. McLeod, Limited]. 1952. Pp. xiv, 601. \$6.75.

Two kinds of historians write history, university professors and journalist-novelists. Both of these are accustomed to use documentary sources as their point of departure; but each usually writes from a different point of view and sometimes in different languages. The professor usually writes for an audience which shares his special interest; the journalist addresses readers who have no special knowledge in any one field. The professor embellishes his work with footnotes and references; the journalist brightens his with clever metaphors and popular vocabulary. The professor is usually historically precise; the journalist is often wilfully emotional.

Joseph Kinsey Howard, the author of this book, belongs to the class of journalist-novelists. Before his death in 1951, at the age of 45, he had written *Montana, High, Wide and Handsome* and edited *Montana Margins: A State Anthology*, and almost completed the manuscript which, with the assistance of Bernard de Voto, has been edited and published under the title, *Strange Empire*. This book, which was intended as a dramatic description of the heroic struggle of the métis to resist the inexorable westward march of what the author scornfully refers to as "civilization," and to establish the empire of the New Nation in the heart of North America, is essentially a biography of the métis spokesman, Louis Riel. Oddly enough, despite the numerous works on the métis "risings" no biography of any merit of Riel had ever appeared in print. Mr. Howard has therefore filled a wide-open gap in the bibliography of Western Canadian history.

A great deal of historical rummaging underlies this book. Much of the information here assembled is available in other places—some of it appears very familiar indeed to this reviewer—in particular the background and the events in Manitoba, 1869–70, and in the Saskatchewan valley, 1884–5. What is new and useful is the account of Riel's wanderings after his hurried departure from the House of Commons in Ottawa in 1874, his years spent in the eastern United States and his friendships with Edmond Mallet and the Barnabé family, his move to the west and his efforts to organize the métis of Montana in the interests of the Republican party.

As might be expected from a journalist-historian, *Strange Empire* is an interesting book. It is forceful and at times moving, although the prose occasionally slips badly (p. 433, "swiped," p. 478, "bellyful"). The author knew the West and his book is a blend of imagination, hard work, and practical knowledge. He is full of compassion for the dispossessed métis and sympathy for their leader. To Mr. Howard, Riel was no malevolent rebel but a métis John Brown who was executed by his opponents after two valiant but hopeless attempts to maintain the freedom of his people against the sovereignty of Canada. This is not unbiased history; but it is stirring stuff, even for the professor who knows perfectly well that the story is too idyllic and too naive, that



the narrative is too dramatic, and that the heroes are too white and the villains too black. There is no doubt that Howard, like Sir Wilfrid Laurier, "if he had lived on the banks of the Saskatchewan," in 1885 "would have taken up a rifle himself to defend his property" along with Louis Riel.

From the standpoint of the professor the success and failure of this book arise from the personality of the author and his approach to his subject. To point out the places where this reviewer differs from the author in the interpretation of the facts would be tedious; although the reviewer cannot but criticize the many small errors in the maps (otherwise very good) and regret the complete absence of references for the numerous quotations in the text. This last is a serious omission. To a Canadian some of the asides are more annoying than offensive; from the dust cover the casual reader would conclude that Riel and the métis were peculiarly American heroes.

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

The Royal Military College of Canada

*Towards the Last Spike.* By E. J. PRATT. Toronto: Macmillan. 1952. Pp. viii, 54. \$2.00.

THE epic story of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway has often been told in prose but it was left to Professor E. J. Pratt to put it into verse. He has done it well and has painted an unforgettable word picture of one of Canada's greatest achievements.

The subtitle reads "A verse panorama of the struggle to build the first Canadian transcontinental from the time of the proposed terms of union with British Columbia (1870) to the hammering of the last spike in the Eagle Pass (1885)." The author has provided that "verse-panorama" and traced the project step by step from "The Gathering" to "The Spike." It is a thrilling story and he tells it well.

"The Gathering" begins with a couplet which should long be remembered:

Oatmeal was in their blood and in their names,  
Thrift was the title of their catechism.

The list of Scots is imposing:

Their names were like a battle-muster—Angus  
(He of the Shops) and Fleming (of the Transit),  
Hector (of the *Kicking Horse*), Dawson,  
"Cromarty" Ross, and Beatty (Ulster Scot),  
Bruce, Allan, Galt and Douglas, and the "twa"—  
Stephen (Craigellachie) and Smith (Strathcona)—

What matter if the chronology is difficult! That is a task for the pedestrian historian, not the poet!

On the whole the history is accurate. For some reason, possibly "poetic licence," the author has postponed the threats of secession in British Columbia till the road is well under construction in the early 1880's. The secession movement was at its height in 1878. This is, however, only a minor blemish in a great production.

The poem moves majestically on and the characters come and go: Sir John A. Macdonald and the nightmare of the mountains; the "Lady of British Columbia" and her sailor-lover, California; Edward Blake and his untiring

opposition; Alexander Mackenzie and "Hard times ahead"; Sandford Fleming and Andrew Onderdonk; and then, the real planners and builders of the new company, George Stephen, "Tom" Shaughnessy, Donald A. Smith, Richard B. Angus, James J. Hill, and, above all, William Cornelius Van Horne.

Three episodes from construction days stand out, "Oak Lane to Calgary," the North Shore of Lake Superior, and the piercing of the Rocky Mountains. In them the author has caught the spirit of the times; more than that he has written majestic passages of real poetry. The giant lizard of the North Shore, that Precambrian reptile "too old for death, too old for life," had at last to yield to the railway builders.

They tickled her with shovels, dug pickaxes  
 Into her scales and got under her skin,  
 And potted holes in her with drills and filled  
 Them up with what looked like fine grains of sand,  
 Black sand. . . .

The mountains were even worse:

The rivers out there did not flow: they tumbled.  
 The cataracts were fed by glaciers;  
 Eddies were thought as whirlpools in the Gorges,  
 And gradients had paws that tore up tracks.

E. J. Pratt has entitled his poem "Towards the Last Spike." His story ends rather abruptly with the driving of the spike. Some critics feel that he should have sent the first transcontinental passenger train across from Montreal to Port Moody. But such was not his object. The epic of the building of the road ended at Craigellachie.

WALTER N. SAGE

The University of British Columbia

*Doukhobors at War.* By JOHN P. ZUBEK and PATRICIA ANNE SOLBERG. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1952. Pp. x, 250. \$4.50.

THIS is an exasperating and thoroughly unsatisfactory book. It is a story of the Doukhobors in Canada with special reference to the minority known as "Sons of Freedom." It could have been a scholarly history. Any historian, however, must take immediate alarm when he reads a statement such as this: "We are not historians. We do not presume to give any detailed account of the sect. We are using history only as a tool to account for the growth of the tensions and hostilities rampant on both sides in this war of 'Freedomites verses [sic] the Public.'" (p. 5) What does it mean to use history "only as a tool"? Apparently the authors mean that in a book of this kind all you need to do is to give at the end a list of thirteen general references and omit all specific documentation, even when statements and judgments of the greatest importance are made. This is, of course, not fair to the authors of the references, since any statement, any error, or any judgment in the book may be attributed by the reader to any of the reference works so listed. This curious attitude in a supposedly scholarly work not only results in uncertainty with regard to major points, but betrays the authors in minor details as well. For example, on page 67 the authors say regarding Doukhobor imprisonment in the Regina jail: "Their own accounts of the prison sentence in the Regina jail may or may not be true. Our knowledge

of prison conditions fifty years ago, make them possible. They relate how guards in the prison beat them with ropes and leather straps until their bodies were painful masses of black and blue bruises. . . ."

This is a very serious charge. The authors make haste to say that they do not know whether the stories were true or not. Yet, two pages later they state, of a subsequent episode, "The Doukhobor guards treated them no less roughly than had the prison guards in Regina." Stripping history to the proportions of a tool may also account for such a cardinal error as attributing the origin of Mennonites to the "Great schism" in the Russian Orthodox Church. This error is even gilded by calling it "a well known fact" (p. 6).

Another problem which this book presents is whether particular accounts purport to be literal happenings or the substance of what happened decked out in pleasant anecdotal trimmings as remembered twenty years later. For example, beginning on page 126 is the description of a census enumeration in 1921: "The enumerator arrived on location. He entered boldly and knocked on the door of a house. No answer. He knocked again. No answer. Lighting a cigarette, he sat down on the step to wait. The cigarette gone, he tried again, but no one answered the knock." Time and time again we are treated to this sort of thing. Even "a lone coyote howled somewhere off in the wilderness" (p. 52). Now, if the authors want to accumulate anecdotes, they have clearly the right to do so. I imagine they could write an excellent novel with a Doukhobor plot. These should not be mixed up with a serious study unless the reader is told something more definite of the sources, or the credibility of the narrator, of these detailed circumstances, and whether the stories have been carefully checked by those whose names are involved.

It is apparent that this book is intended to be a sociological contribution to a tolerable solution of a very difficult situation. There can be no doubt of the authors' desire to be helpful. However, even sociological studies should be precisely documented if they are to gain the confidence of those who wish to use them. A much better model for such a study is the recently published Report of the Doukhobor Research Committee of the University of British Columbia under the editorship of Harry B. Hawthorne.

In conclusion one can only say that this book which might have been a sound historical study, or a proper sociological treatise, or a good colourful novel, does not fulfil the specifications in any of these directions. Indeed it is bad enough to make a lone coyote howl somewhere off in the wilderness.

GEO. W. SIMPSON

The University of Saskatchewan

*Constitutional History of Medieval England, 1216-1399. II. Politics and the Constitution, 1307-1399.* By B. WILKINSON. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1952. Pp. viii, 340. \$5.00.

*Studies in the Constitutional History of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* By B. WILKINSON. Publications of the University of Manchester, no. CCLIII; Historical Series, no. LXXIII. Second edition. Tout Memorial Publication Fund. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1952. Pp. xx, 290. 18 s.

THESE volumes bring to bear on a complex and exacting period an abundance of solid learning, vigour in presentation, and scholarly restraint. They overlap

chronologically in their subject-matter to some extent, so that some of the topics taken up in the *History* are conveniently glossed and enlarged upon in the *Studies*. The latter work, first published in 1937, has become a standard auxiliary for serious students of the period. It wears exceedingly well, and the decision to publish the second edition without extensive change was fully justified. But the present reviewer cannot deny himself a lingering regret that so important a treatise was not brought fully up to date.

The *History*, however, bridges the gap and brings the reader abreast of current research. The method is strenuous but rewarding. A substantial introduction provides initial guidance on the constitutional crises of the fourteenth century, and establishes the lines of connection between them. The crises are then approached singly, with the aid in each case of an introduction embodying the results of recent research and of translations of a group of the pertinent original sources. Thus the student, after this preliminary briefing, is able to approach the problem by way of the sources; and the accumulation of information is nicely balanced by a liberal training in the processes and difficulties of historical method. The work is refreshingly free of dogmatism, and reports faithfully on topics still unclarified or under dispute.

On one point of some importance the findings of the author would seem to require reconsideration. The author states (p. 293) that the main purpose of the indictment against Richard II "seems to have been to establish not, as in the case of Edward II, that the king was 'insufficient,' but that he was dictatorial and destructive of liberty and law." In fact, however, the commission which deposed Richard pronounced him to be useless and insufficient immediately before it promulgated the formal sentence of deposition (p. 317). Thus the intent of the charges against both rulers was to demonstrate their personal unfitness for office. The related concepts of uselessness, insufficiency, and unworthiness as personal disqualifications for office were familiar axioms of canon law. In this connection it was perhaps significant that the commission of legists and bishops which drew up the charges against Richard paid particular attention to the papal sentence of deposition passed against the Emperor Frederick II in 1245, which had been absorbed subsequently into the general body of canon law. On the whole, however, the work under review remains highly impressive in plan and achievement. Its quality of excellence lies in the harmonious blending of mature scholarship with apt pedagogical method. This is a distinctive, and distinguished, book.

C. C. BAYLEY

McGill University

*The Liberal Anglican Idea of History.* By DUNCAN FORBES. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1952. Pp. x, 208. \$4.00.

*Liberty in the Modern World: Being the Third Lectures on the Chancellor Dunning Trust, Delivered at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1952.* By HERBERT BUTTERFIELD. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1952. Pp. x, 59.

To "discover" a new nineteenth century historian would be a remarkable achievement, but Mr. Forbes, in a well-argued and well-written book, argues for the existence of a whole new school—"the Liberal Anglicans." The

members—Thomas Arnold, Julius Hare, H. H. Milman, A. P. Stanley, Connop Thirlwall, Richard Whately—have usually been treated by historians of history as more or less minor church and classical historians; and their significance, which should have been very great for his theme, seems to have almost entirely escaped R. G. Collingwood. For these men were the first interpreters of the "Vichian" tradition in England.

The "Liberal Anglicans" followed Burke and Coleridge in revolt against eighteenth century rationalism. In particular they opposed the rationalist idea of history as the "march of mind," i.e. the progressive liberation of reason. They fortified romantic conservatism by drawing heavily on the historical science of Vico, whose cyclical (or spiral) scheme of history had recently been discovered and developed in Germany and France, particularly by Niebuhr, whose influence on the Liberal Anglicans was considerable.

The resulting "idea of history" is analysed by Mr. Forbes under the headings of the nature of progress, the science of history, practical history, and its relationship to the "historical movement proper." Their science of history was, like Vico's, the comparative biography of nations, and the practical application followed naturally as an analysis of the troubles which accompanied the period of maturity in contemporary England. In this analysis, much greater emphasis was placed on the "mental outlook" of society, which was considered to be its fundamental characteristic, than on external characteristics, though the nature of the mental outlook at any given time was closely connected with the relationship of the classes. To escape the romantic idealism of Hegel, the dialectical materialism of Marx, or the helpless relativism of many successors in the "Vichian" tradition, the "Liberal Anglicans" called in Providence, and sought to insist on primacy of the individual over the group mind. But the contradiction, necessarily, remained.

That Mr. Forbes has made an important contribution to historiography, there can be no doubt. His originality and boldness of plan is matched by much fine scholarship, and it is unlikely that future histories of history will be able to ignore his conclusions. It is a pity, therefore, that the book gives an impression of over-hasty publication, of growing while it was being written. The result is a certain obscurity of expression and incompleteness of argument, while a good proportion of the supporting evidence has been rather clumsily left as fifty pages of supplementary notes. Perhaps Mr. Forbes will sometime fill out his account of the sources, relationships, and influences of the "Vichian" school of historiography in England to give us a bigger and more systematic book.

Professor Butterfield's book consists of three lectures, delivered at Queen's University, in defence of liberty and tradition against the appeals of equality and revolution. Many will think that his account of the rise of liberty in England gives too much credit to the intellectuals, and too little to the aristocrats and men of government. The Tudor break with the Middle Ages was not as sharp as he makes it, and the subsequent "invention" of a tradition of liberty was only possible because it came near to the truth. Nevertheless, Professor Butterfield's arguments are usually both penetrating and convincing, as for example in his account of the role of the lapsed Christian. They are particularly to be recommended for the reading of undergraduates.

M. R. POWICKE

The University of Toronto

*English Discovery of America to 1585.* By FRANKLIN T. MCCANN. New York: King's Crown Press (Columbia University Press) [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1952. Pp. xiv, 246. \$4.50.

THIS book is not a collection of voyages but an account of the growth of the amount of knowledge of America possessed by Englishmen up to the time of the first settlement at Roanoke Island. Mr. McCann begins by investigating the mediaeval concept of the World. (Incidentally he marshalls in convenient form the evidence that shows that the Middle Ages knew that the world was round. Popular writers and school textbooks still ignore this long-accepted fact.) He then proceeds to examine the effect of the work of Columbus, the Cabots, and their successors on the Englishman's awareness of the "fourth part of the world," America. The sources of his information are twofold: direct references to America or to voyages of discovery which he has unearthed in a wide variety of English works and translations; and incidental references in English imaginative literature which may be interpreted as indicative of a knowledge of the New World in literate circles in England.

Within its small compass the book is a model of scholarship. Nothing is stated without evidence. For instance, although some writers have speculated that the existence of America might have been known to Europeans for some time before 1492, either as a result of Breton and Norman fishing voyages of which the records were kept secret and then lost, or else as a result of regular contact with Iceland where the memory of Greenland, Markland, and Vinland was still fresh, Mr. McCann is content to refer only to distorted fifteenth-century English accounts of the work of the Norse explorers of America and to comment that they were a "far cry from the truth." He is unwilling to give space to guesses not backed by authorities whom he can quote.

Nevertheless, in addition to the voyages of the Cabots, he has found evidence of voyages to America from England in the years 1502, 1503, 1504, and 1505; and of about twenty more in the reign of Henry VIII. In view of the perennial difficulty of financing voyages of exploration, it is remarkable that so many were made at this early time unless their promoters had some experience of gain. Mr. McCann tells us that while some of these voyages were trading voyages to Spanish and Portuguese America, many of them went to the "New Found Land." Can it be that most of these latter were actually fishing voyages which did exploratory work as a side-line? If so, is it not possible that fishermen had done the same kind of thing even before 1492? Probably not, for, as Mr. McCann's book shows, no word of their discoveries leaked out into the world of literature.

Mr. McCann is convinced that a persistent mediaeval error, namely that gold was to be found only in hot climes, delayed the complete exploration of the coast of North America by Englishmen until after the settlement of Roanoke. He might have added that English knowledge of the North American coast was far from complete even when Jamestown was settled. Within the decade and a half following that event, however, systematic English exploration of the temperate and habitable portions of the North American coast was completed. From 1620 there began a new stage, the "discovery" of the interior. The end of the first chapter of the English discovery of North America would thus seem to come more properly in 1620 than in 1585. It is a pity

that Mr. McCann did not carry his investigations down until the time when the coastal exploration was completed.

R. A. PRESTON

Royal Military College of Canada

*Saints in Politics: The "Clapham Sect" and the Growth of Freedom.* By ERNEST MARSHALL HOWSE. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 215. \$5.00.

FEW groups of men have exercised as profound an influence upon the course of history as the small group of English Evangelicals known as the Clapham Sect. Most of its members lived on Clapham Common and the community served as a rallying point for their reforming activities. Between 1780 and 1833 they effected an impressive list of achievements: abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, the development of missionary activities in India and in the other British colonies, the publication of much Christian literature notably in the *Christian Observer*, the formation of the Church Missionary Society in 1799 and of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804.

Dr. Howse has written a lucid, interesting, and full account of the achievements of the group. His volume is no mere formal listing of activities. He makes a real attempt to bring its members to life with character sketches of Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, James Stephen, Lord Teignmouth, Henry Venn, *et al.*

The final chapter contains an appraisal of the long-run significance of the Claphamites. Dr. Howse describes their work in perfecting the "methodology of agitation," in developing in their countrymen a sense of responsibility for native peoples, and in spreading religious literature, especially the Bible. He points out also the profound importance of the fact that abolition of slavery was achieved before the final partition of Africa by European nations began. This volume will go far to re-establish the reputation of a group which has suffered much unfair criticism.

The volume, however, contains little about the religious ideas of the group and these are the key to everything they thought and did. Dr. Howse realizes the central importance of their religious ideas. He says, indeed, that the minutest details of their actions were "considered with reference to Eternity" (p. 171). Yet he does not indicate with any precision just what these religious ideas were. They were the basic ideas of English Evangelicals since the time of the Reformation and particularly since the eighteenth century. The Evangelicals believed that man is a sinner in need of salvation, that salvation is made possible by the death and resurrection of Christ, and that the individual sinner can appropriate to himself the blessings of the atonement by a personal trust in Christ as Saviour. In short they were firm believers in Justification by Faith.

The remarkable feature of the career of the Claphamites was that, although believing salvation to be achieved by faith alone and not by good works, they nevertheless devoted their lives to the promotion of many humanitarian causes. This point is contained in a quotation from Professor Halévy (pp. 135-6), but, in the opinion of this reviewer, it is not sufficiently emphasized by Dr. Howse.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Howse does not bring out more clearly the



religious beliefs of the group because it would have shown how little sympathy the Saints would have had for many of the tenets of modern Protestantism. Dr. Howse gives the impression that they held these modern beliefs (pp. 26, 179, 185). They would have repudiated the doctrine of "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" as it is now understood by many modern Protestants. To the Saints God was, of course, the creator of all men; but he was the Father only of those who had accepted his Son as Saviour. The rest were "the World." Nor did the Saints understand the term brotherhood as capable of universal application. It was one's Christian duty to do good to all men; but a Christian's brothers were sons of God. The Clapham group, too, would have repudiated the humanism of much modern Protestantism. It may have been true that as a result of the group "multitudes of men were moved to a new faith in humanity," but this was not a faith which was shared by the Clapham Sect nor by subsequent generations of Evangelicals.

D. C. MASTERS

Bishop's University

*The Public Career of Sir James Graham.* By ARVEL B. ERICKSON. Oxford: Basil Blackwell; Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University. 1952. Pp. viii, 433. \$4.50.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM was a key figure in British political history in the period between the first two reform bills, comparable in many ways to his close friend and colleague, Sir Robert Peel. Yet his name is not as well known as it deserves to be, partly because of the lack of a satisfactory biography, partly because of something missing in his personality. He had none of the strong personal idiosyncracies that distinguished most of the notable statesmen of his period, and despite his very great ability he lacked the power to inspire men which is a first requisite of political leadership. (Thus he never became prime minister although his claim was stronger than Aberdeen's in 1853.) He epitomized too well the sober *laissez-faire* politician so often satirized in the contemporary novels of Dickens and Disraeli.

Since the official *Life* by C. S. Parker is little more than a series of valuable selections from Graham's correspondence, Professor Erickson has performed a useful service in filling this important gap in mid-nineteenth century biography and in doing so has produced a competent and scholarly study. The merits and shortcomings of the book, however, are not dissimilar to those of Sir James Graham himself. It is highly informative, the result of much research in a wide range of original sources and of careful reading of most of the standard secondary authorities, all carefully set forth in an excellent bibliography and in some 1600 footnote references. (But oddly there is no reference anywhere to Halévy's uncompleted fourth volume, which has so much to say about Peel and the Peelites.) Yet for all its scholarship it is a heavy book to read; like Sir James it lacks inspiration. The author has restricted himself to the public career of his hero, but it may be argued no man's public career can be fully understood without some knowledge of his private life. Professor Erickson might have found the space to develop this side of the subject by taking some of the general history of the period for granted. Moreover, he too often tells in great detail what Sir James's course of action was on a particular occasion without making enough effort to explain why he acted in the way he did—an

important question in the case of a man who changed his party as often as Graham did. Nevertheless, since the biographer has given a full account and made a convincing estimate of Sir James Graham's administrative work at the Admiralty and the Home Office it should be said that the book is a contribution not to be ignored by students of nineteenth century British history.

J. B. CONACHER

The University of Toronto

*Main Currents of Western Thought: Readings in Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the Present.* Edited by FRANKLIN LE VAN BAUMER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart]. 1952. Pp. xvi, 699. \$9.00.

THE works of Parrington, Curti, Brinton, and a host of others, testify to the growing interest of Americans in intellectual history, but do not fully explain that interest in terms of a new conception of the scope of the historian's task, or as a reflection of a deepening concern for the proving of inherited values in this "Age of Anxiety," as the editor of this volume calls the twentieth century. Whatever may be the reason for this aroused interest, the present work is an attempt to provide supplementary readings on the intellectual history of the West for the use of university students, the field being defined as that of the patterns of ideas, and climates of opinion, as they change in character and direction from age to age. Why, in a work on the heritage of the West, which transcends national boundaries, American writers have been omitted is not made clear. On the other hand, the subject is regarded as being broader than that of the history of philosophy, literature, art, or of any single idea. It embraces these, but Professor Baumer regards it as differing from them, since, as he claims, the literary historian rightly resists the tendency "to treat literature as merely the reflection of the ideas prevalent at a given time in history. Literature . . . relates to the timeless world of the imagination as well as to the time-spirit." There are certain objections to this statement the adequate treatment of which would require an extended treatise, and here we must hasten to comment upon another feature of this anthology of European writings, which is made up of selections from works representing aspects of the thought of three successive ages, the Age of Religion, the Age of Science, and the Age of Anxiety. They are subdivided so as to illustrate the different facets of the thought and outlook of each age, and each is prefaced by an interpretative essay by the editor. The readings for the "Age of Anxiety" may not be as representative as those for the earlier periods, but on the whole the editor is to be commended for a discriminating and judicious selection.

Professor Baumer's adoption of the new sequence of ages in place of the old division of "Ancient," "Medieval," and "Modern," is clearly derived from such writers as Toynbee and Spengler, although he expressly dissents from the cyclic theory of history and from Spengler's relation of all aspects of a culture to a "fundamental symbol." Nevertheless these writers have treated the Classical civilization as separate and distinct from the Western, not as constituting its initial phase. The Western civilization, in Professor Baumer's anthology as in their writings, stems from the "Middle Ages." It is then that his "Age of Religion" commences, the "Age of Science" superseding it in the

seventeenth century. He disagrees with Carl Becker's postulation of a Meta-physical age intervening in the eighteenth century between the ages of Religion and Science, and in so doing departs from Comte's "law of the three stages" and from Sorokin's scheme of ideational, idealistic, and sensate phases. Whether or not they will agree with him in this regard, university instructors will be grateful for a most useful volume of readings to supplement their texts in European intellectual history.

A. G. BAILEY

The University of New Brunswick

#### SHORTER NOTICES

*Le Système scolaire de la province de Québec. II. L'Instruction publique de 1635 à 1800.* By LOUIS-PHILIPPE AUDET. Québec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval. 1951. Pp. xii, 362.

DR. AUDET's second volume in his projected ten-volume account of the scholastic system in Quebec describes the development of public education from the establishment of the first primary school by the Jesuits in 1635 to the law of 1801 creating the Royal Institution. Volume I outlined, by way of introduction to the series, the over-all historical and contemporary scene and volumes III-V along with II will complete the historical review.

This volume maintains the high standard set by its predecessor, which won it a place as an official reference manual in the provincial Normal schools. Well documented and well written the book succeeds in the difficult task of feeding on statistics without becoming addicted to them. The author makes a good deal of use of the previous works in this field by Groulx, Gosselin, and Roy.

Dr. Audet's fifty-page digression upon the British government's treatment of its new French subjects between 1759 and 1774 seems unnecessarily lengthy and detailed for the purpose of tracing the path of education in these years, but I suspect that many English Canadians will find it very satisfying since the author's judgment upon the British is almost altogether favourable.

PAUL W. FOX

Carleton College

*Queen Anne's American Kings.* By RICHARD P. BOND. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1952. Pp. xii, 148, illus. \$3.50.

THIS slim, pleasant book pursues an interesting sideline in the history of imperial relations. Queen Anne's New England colonists wanted to be rid of their French neighbours in Quebec and Acadia, for which purpose they required the assistance of the British army and navy. Unfortunately the army was otherwise engaged—very much engaged—in Flanders; the Navy also had no lack of employment. So, to impress the home government with the high importance of their cause, the colonists brought to England in 1710 four Iroquois sachems to support their plea for military aid, and—a shrewd publicity stroke—to beg for missions too. Up to a point this introduction of a "Buffalo Bill element" into imperial relations was most successful. A tremendous impression was made in London. The Kings were received by Queen Anne at Court and by the Archbishop at Lambeth to discuss matters military

and spiritual. Theatres they attended were sold out. Their portraits were painted, engraved, and widely sold, and they won a literary immortality too in the columns of *The Spectator*. The practical results of their visit were less spectacular; as Mr. Bond puts it, the "Anglicizing of Acadia was the sole English gain in America during the war years 1709-11 and though the Kings returned with the men and ships for the expedition, it had been determined and instructed before their arrival in England"; nor were the evangelical successes of the Reverend William Andrews among the Iroquois more impressive. The whole story is ably told by Mr. Bond.

R. GLOVER

The University of Manitoba

*The Bruce Beckons: The Story of Lake Huron's Great Peninsula.* By WILLIAM SHERWOOD FOX. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1952. Pp. xviii, 235. \$4.00.

THE Bruce Peninsula is fortunate in having its story told by Dr. Fox, former President of the University of Western Ontario. He has written, in his usual urbane, scholarly style, a thoroughly enjoyable book—the distillation of an intimate knowledge of a region that he has long known and loved. His book is not a history, Dr. Fox says, but rather "a holiday between covers," into which he has put what he liked, including stories of famous shipwrecks, folklore, and descriptions of the natural wonders and resources, pioneer settlers and saw-mills, botanical expeditions, and fisheries. There is a good deal of local history here, much of it "drawn out of the memories of several of the Peninsula's oldest inhabitants," rather than archival records. The author states that his chief concern is "not the things of the Bruce, rather it is the people who have lived, who still live, among these things." His interest in the people is evident throughout; but some readers may feel that he is at his best in describing the "things" of The Bruce and his own discovery of them—the lakes, the rocky coasts, and the "flowerpots," the mysterious "tides" or "seiches," and the peculiar flora and fauna. Even the reader who has never heard of the Hart's Tongue Fern or the Calypso Orchid will catch something of the enthusiasm with which Dr. Fox tells of his search for these rare and elusive plants.

The University of Toronto Press is to be commended for the excellent format and fine appearance of the book as a whole. The drawings by Clare Bice and Vincent Elliott add much to its attractiveness.

F. C. HAMIL

Wayne University

*Thirty Years, 1922-1952: The Story of the Communist Movement in Canada.* By TIM BUCK. Toronto: Progress Books. 1952. Pp. 224. \$1.00.

PRESENTED in its foreword as an example of the "scholarship and culture" which are "heralds of the growing maturity of the Canadian working class," this volume is a collection of the usual communist clichés about monopoly-capitalism, imperialism, and the working class. Mr. Buck writes his history as if his party, during the last thirty years, had actually occupied the position of leadership in working-class economic and political movements which its innumerable manifestoes claimed for it, and as if it had concentrated throughout

on saving Canada from that American imperialism about which it is most vociferous at the present moment. The role of villain in the story is played sometimes by the A.F. of L. trade-union leaders, sometimes by the Liberal party, sometimes by the Conservative party, but usually, after 1932, by the C.C.F.

F. H. UNDERHILL

The University of Toronto

*The American Record in the Far East, 1945-1951.* By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. New York: The Macmillan Company [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1952. Pp. viii, 208. \$3.50.

PROFESSOR Latourette has written a succinct and lucid survey of post-war American Far Eastern policy which succeeds in clarifying for the general reader a complex and controversial facet of contemporary international politics. In essence, the author conducts the reader through an illuminating country-by-country tour of American policy since 1945, starting with India and Pakistan, going on to Southeast Asia, "the Great American Defeat" in China, the record of occupation in Japan, and finally the events leading up to the Korean war and its aftermath.

While the primary value of this essay lies in the author's ability to compress a multitude of significant events in a readable and instructive manner, there are, as well, a number of challenging hypotheses which merit attention. Professor Latourette expresses scepticism about the utility of armed force unless it is supplemented by political, cultural, and economic policies, to which he attributes far more importance. Moreover, he suggests that once Japan was defeated, no American policy vis-à-vis China except outright occupation could have prevented an ultimate communist victory. The author also contends that whatever ideology and form of government attains supremacy in the countries of the Far East, it will be integrated with the persistent forces of their ancient cultural heritage rather than superimposed upon them. Finally, he asserts that while American policy was "not entirely one of fumbling, indecisiveness and failure . . . it had in it much of all three."

MICHAEL BRECHER

McGill University

### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

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PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

By MARGARET JEAN HOUSTON

Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

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XL ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith)

Archaeology Confirms Site of St. Louis (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XVI (3), Oct., 1952, 72-3, 89). Archaeological work has led to the discovery of the site of the village of St. Louis, one of the Jesuit mission stations in Huronia.

BANK, T. P., II. University of Michigan Expeditions to the Aleutian Islands (*Arctic*, V (1), March, 1952, 60). A brief preliminary note on anthropological and botanical field-work in the Aleutian Islands, sponsored by the University of Michigan.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. All Hands Aboard Scrimshawing (*The American Neptune*, XII (2), 1952, 1-24). Scrimshawing, the carving of small trinkets of whale tooth, walrus ivory, bone, or wood was highly developed by the New England whalers in the nineteenth century as a relief from tedium. Comparable carvings were made by the Eskimo of Bering Strait and by the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands; these native crafts were probably stimulated by contact with the whalers.

— Charles A. Cooke, Mohawk Scholar (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCVI (4), Aug., 1952, 424-6). A biography of a Mohawk Indian who has studied Iroquois proper names and has made a collection of more than 6000 of these with their accurate translation.

— The Old-World Dragon in America (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, 1949 [Proceedings], III, *Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 115-22). Among the close parallels in folklore themes between the Old World and the New are Iroquois myths of horned serpents

- reminiscent of European dragon tales, and Northwest Coast myths of the Thunderbird which resemble the Flying Eagle described in the Apocalypse.
- BIRDSELL, JOSEPH B. The Problem of the Early Peopling of the Americas as Viewed from Asia (*Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian*, ed. WILLIAM S. LAUGHLIN, New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1951, 1-68a). Non-Mongol elements in the Indian population are probably derived from the Amurian strain, distantly related to the Caucasoid, which existed in eastern Asia during the fourth glacial period. This is an important article, stressing the genetic point of view in classifying human "races."
- BODSWORTH, FRED. They're Looting Our History (*Maclean's Magazine*, LXV (21), Nov. 1, 1952, 18-19, 30-1, 34). The discovery and partial excavation of an important early site on Manitoulin Island raises the question of the need for a law protecting archaeological areas from the depredations of unscrupulous pot-hunters.
- BORDEN, CHARLES E. An Archeological Reconnaissance of Tweedsmuir Park, B.C. (*Museum & Art Notes*, second series, II (2), April, 1952, 9-15). A reconnaissance of a little-known area in central British Columbia resulted in the discovery of 130 archaeological sites, representing two distinct cultures. The region is important and further work is urgently needed since much of the area will be flooded by dams proposed for power purposes.
- Notes on the Pre-History of the Southern North-West Coast (*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XIV (4), Oct., 1950, 241-6). A preliminary report on archaeological work at Boundary Bay in the southwest corner of the Fraser Delta which revealed two layers of occupancy, of which the later suggests an incursion from the interior, perhaps by the ancestors of the Coast Salish.
- BOYD, WILLIAM C. The Blood Groups and Types (*Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian*, ed. WILLIAM S. LAUGHLIN, New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1951, 127-37). A study of types of blood group and their distribution among the natives of the New World.
- British Columbia, Department of Trade and Industry, Government Travel Bureau. *Thunderbird Park, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada*. Victoria: Queen's Printer. n.d. Pp. 35. An attractively illustrated description of the totem-poles, and other examples of Northwest Coast Indian art, preserved in the Thunderbird Park, Victoria. There is also included an excellent general account of the significance of totem-poles in the culture of the coastal Indians.
- BROWN, PALA. Changes in Ojibwa Social Control (*American Anthropologist*, LIV (1), Jan.-March, 1952, 57-70). A study of adjustment among the Ojibwa of Minnesota, of relevance in comparable situations in Canada.
- BUGGE, AAGE. The Native Greenlander—a Blending of Old and New (*Arctic*, V (1), March, 1952, 45-53). A description of the life of the modern Greenlanders, who are largely a mixture of Eskimo and Europeans.
- BURG, AMOS. North Star Cruises Alaska's Wild West (*National Geographic Magazine*, CII (1), July, 1952, 57-86). An interesting description, with excellent photographs, of Eskimo life in Alaska as seen from an annual supply ship.
- CAMERON, W. BLEASDELL. Rebellion's End (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Sept., 1952, 3-5). Reminiscences of an old-timer about incidents which followed the battle of Frenchman's Butte in 1885.
- CAMPEAU, LUCIEN. Un Site historique retrouvé (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française*, VI (1), juin 1952, 31-41). A study of records and of local topography leads to the conclusion that Fathers Jogues and Goupil were captured by the Iroquois near the present village of Lanoraie.
- CARPENTER, EDMUND S. The Future of the Eskimos (*Canadian Forum*, XXXII (377), June, 1952, 54-5). In a thought-provoking essay, the author stresses that the Eskimo are facing a very difficult future, of which the problems are accentuated by strong feelings of race prejudice which limit any effective co-operation in the north.

- "Keepers of the Faith" (*Food for Thought*, XIII, 3, Dec., 1952, 15-17). An illuminating commentary on the reality, and the beauty, of the Iroquois religion, certain aspects of which have been portrayed by the National Film Board in the film, *The Longhouse People*.
- CARRUTHERS, JANET. Land of the Ojibway (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, March, 1952, 42-5). A popular description, with excellent photographs, of the Ojibwa of the region around Lake-of-the-Woods.
- CASAGRANDE, JOSEPH B. Ojibwa Bear Ceremonialism: The Persistence of a Ritual Attitude (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, New York, 1949 [Proceedings], II, *Selected Papers: Acculturation in the Americas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 113-17). A description of contemporary Ojibwa ritual at the killing of bears, a survival of an ancient practice.
- COLLINS, HENRY B. Archaeological Excavations at Resolute, Cornwallis Island, N.W.T. (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 126, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1950-51*, Ottawa, 1952, 48-63). A summarized, but well-illustrated description of an archaeological investigation on Cornwallis Island. The material recovered was largely of developed Thule culture, with some articles of Dorset and early Thule age.
- COLLINS, JUNE McCORMICK. The Mythological Basis for Attitudes toward Animals among Salish-Speaking Indians (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXV (258), Oct.-Dec., 1952, 353-60). An interesting study of the attitude towards animals held by the Indians of the northwest coast, and of the myths which serve as the basis for such beliefs.
- Conference on Eskimo Affairs (*Arctic*, V (3), Oct., 1952, 193-5). An interdepartmental committee, with non-government representatives, has recently been organized in Ottawa to study Eskimo problems.
- CONLY, ROBERT L. The Mohawks Scrape the Sky (*National Geographic Magazine*, CII (1), July, 1952, 133-42). A popular and well-illustrated description of the colony in New York of Mohawk steel workers. Their home is at Caughnawaga, near Montreal, but their skill at high steel construction has taken them to many American cities.
- COOKE, CHARLES A. Iroquois Personal Names—Their Classification (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCVI (4), Aug., 1952, 427-38). This is a preliminary summary of an extremely important study of over 6000 Iroquois personal names. They can be classified according to the categories from which they are derived, such as occupations, animals, plants, geographical terms, religious ceremonials, and many others. The author discusses adjectival, verbal, and syllabic elements in Iroquois names.
- COUNT, EARL W. The Earth-Diver and the Rival Twins: A Clue to Time Correlation in North-Eurasian and North American Mythology (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, 1949 [Proceedings], III, *Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 55-62). Tales of a primeval ocean, from the bottom of which a diver brought up morsels of earth which grew into the world, occur both in Eurasia and America. They are of common ancestry, as are many other themes. The dating of some elements within such tales has been possible in Eurasia; if these components can be recognized in America, they will provide a basis for computing the time of their spread to the New World.
- DAHLBERG, ALBERT A. The Dentition of the American Indian (*Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian*, ed. WILLIAM S. LAUGHLIN, New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1951, 138-76). A comprehensive description of American Indian teeth.
- DAIFUKU, HIROSHI. The Pit House in the Old World and in Native North America (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (1), July, 1952, 1-7). The use of semi-subterranean houses seems to have been one of the traits brought to the New World by the ancestors of the American Indian. They are found from Europe to the North American Plains, and the oldest, found in Europe, are of Palaeolithic Age.



- DAY, A. GROVE. The Indian as Poet (*American Indian*, VI (3), spring, 1952, 13-21). A description, with numerous examples, of North American Indian poetry.
- *The Sky Clears*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 204. This is an interesting and important anthology of American Indian poetry. Though written by a professor of English, whose interests are primarily in the literary field, the volume shows an understanding of Indian life which is, of course, necessary in appreciating their poetry.
- DENVER ART MUSEUM, Department of Indian Art. *Indian Women's Clothing: Fashion and Function; War Bonnets; Kachinas and Kachina Dolls; Mistaken Ideas about Indians; Navaho Wearing Blankets; Red-Dark-Light in Designs*. Edited by FREDERIC H. DOUGLAS. Leaflets 109; 110; 111; 112; 113; 114. Denver, Colo. Dec., 1951. Pp. 33-6; 37-40; 41-4; 45-8; 49-52; 53-6. These six leaflets are a welcome addition to the valuable series published at irregular intervals by the Denver Art Museum. Each treats a single theme in a concise manner, giving the significant facts in a simple but scholarly style. Though intended primarily for the high-school student or the museum visitor, teachers will find that each of these pamphlets has brought together a large amount of information which is not readily available. The pamphlets on costume (109 and 110), and on the use of contrasting colours in designs (114) include much Canadian material; that on popular fallacies held by the white man about Indians (112) is of particular value to students of race contact in North America.
- DODGE, ERNEST A. Some Thoughts on the Historic Art of the Indians of North-eastern North America (*Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society*, XII (1), 1951, 1-5).
- DOUGLAS, GILEAN. Revenge at Guayasdums (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Sept., 1952, 6-9). A tradition, probably with some historical basis, of a feud and ambush supposed to have taken place among the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island about 1830.
- DOYON, MADELEINE. Rondes et danses à l'Île-Aux-Coudres (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 126, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1950-51*, Ottawa, 1952, 105-9). A note on folk-songs and dances at Île-aux-Coudres.
- DUNBAR, M. J. The Ungava Bay Problem (*Arctic*, V (1), March, 1952, 4-16). A thoughtful study of Eskimo problems in the changing economy of the Ungava Bay region.
- EICKSTEDT, EGON VON. Die Erstbesiedlung Amerikas (*Homo*, II (1), 1951, 6-11). A brief general statement by a leading German scholar.
- EMERSON, J. N. and POPHAM, ROBERT E. Comments on "The Huron and Lalonde Occupations of Ontario" (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (2), Oct., 1952, 162-4). A scholarly discussion of pottery types in tracing prehistoric Indian movements in Ontario.
- GARFIELD, VIOLA E. Survey of Southeastern Alaskan Indian Research (*Science in Alaska*, ed. HENRY B. COLLINS, Washington, Arctic Institute of North America, 1952, 20-37). A summary of existing knowledge concerning the Indians of south-eastern Alaska, with comments on those aspects of culture about which there is the greatest need for research.
- GARFIELD, VIOLA E., WINGERT, PAUL S., and BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music*. The Publications of the American Ethnological Society, XVIII. New York: J. J. Augustin. n.d. Pp. xii, 290. This is an important and comprehensive study of the Tsimshian of northern British Columbia, based on extensive field work as well as published material. Miss Garfield describes social, political, and religious organization as well as material culture; Professor Wingert deals with sculpture; and Dr. Barbeau with music.
- GIDDINGS, J. L., Jr. Ancient Bering Strait and Population Spread (*Science in Alaska*, ed. HENRY B. COLLINS, Washington, Arctic Institute of North America, 1952, 85-102). A scholarly and thoughtful article on problems of the spread of peoples and cultures across Bering Strait, based both upon theoretical considerations and on the results of archaeological investigations.

- Driftwood and Problems of Arctic Sea Currents (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCVI (2), April 21, 1952, 129-42). A study of driftwood in the Arctic throws light on the direction and strength of currents, particularly when such a study is combined with identification of the river valley from which the driftwood originated. Identification is facilitated by the use of dendrochronology, since the cycle of growth varies in different valleys as is shown by tree-ring analysis. Knowledge of such drifts is of value in tracing Eskimo movements.
- GIRARD, RAFAEL. *Historia del origen y desarrollo de las civilizaciones indoeuropeas*. Guatemala. 1951. Pp. 50. A general treatise on New World origins.
- GODSELL, PHILIP H. Is There Time to Save the Eskimo? (*Natural History*, LXI (2), Feb., 1952, 56-62). Depletion of game in the Arctic is reducing the Eskimo to a dangerous condition of destitution and possible starvation.
- Warriors of the Plains (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, June, 1952, 3-7). A description of the annual gathering of the Assiniboine (Stoney) Indians of Alberta, with comments on their part in the changed economy of the west.
- GODWIN, MABEL W. The First Canadian Christmas Carol (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIII (6), Dec., 1951, 252-3). The first Canadian Christmas carol was written by Brébeuf in 1645 in Huron, for the Hurons. As interpreted by J. E. MIDDLETON, it was used as a Christmas theme by the National Museum before a diorama depicting a small Huron chapel.
- GOLDFRANK, ESTHER S. The Different Patterns of Blackfoot and Pueblo Adaptation to White Authority (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, New York, 1949 [Proceedings], II, *Selected Papers: Acculturation in the Americas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 74-9). A study of the course of adjustment among the Blood, a branch of the Blackfoot of Alberta, in comparison with the Pueblo of New Mexico and Arizona.
- GREENLEES, STEPHEN. Indian Guides (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, June, 1952, 20-3). Portraits of four Algonkian Indians of Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba.
- GRIFFIN, JAMES B. Culture Periods in Eastern United States (*Archeology of Eastern United States*, ed. JAMES B. GRIFFIN, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 352-64). A masterly summary of the principal elements in the prehistoric cultures of eastern America.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. "John the Bear" in the New World (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXV (258), Oct.-Dec., 1952, 418). A note on the wide distribution in North America of a well-known European folk-theme.
- Ojibwa Personality and Acculturation (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, New York, 1949 [Proceedings], II, *Selected Papers: Acculturation in the Americas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 105-12). A description of methods used in studying psychological changes among Ojibwa groups in western Ontario who have made varying adjustments to European contact, with a summary of some of the results.
- HAMILTON, MILTON W. and COREY, ALBERT B. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. X. Albany: The University of State of New York. 1951. Pp. xiv, 998. This series of historical documents includes data such as lists of trade goods and presents given to Iroquois allies, lists of Indians and tribal affiliations, and records of tribal movements and conferences between 1758 and 1763.
- HARPER, J. RUSSELL. The Webb Site: A Stage in Early Iroquoian Development (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XXII (2), July, 1952, 49-64). A description of an archaeological excavation in Simcoe County, Ontario, with a broad hypothesis concerning the sequence of Iroquoian pottery types in Ontario.
- HARRINGTON, LYN. Haida Carver of Argillite (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLV (1), July, 1952, 38-40). The carving of argillite is a craft practised by the Haida alone. It was begun about 1820 and has now almost disappeared.
- HARRINGTON, RICHARD. The Cheerful Eskimo (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, March, 1952, 7-15). A series of superb photographs of Eskimo taken on the Boothia Peninsula.

- Eskimo Snowman (*Saturday Night*, LXVIII (9), Dec. 6, 1952, 20). The carving of snow figures is a moderately common Eskimo pastime.
- *The Face of the Arctic*. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc. 1952. Pp. xiv, 369. This is a description of Eskimo life by a free-lance photographer, based upon five trips to the Arctic. Harrington travelled over 3,000 miles by dog-team, living with the Eskimo and learning their way of life by sharing it, on the Coppermine, on the Boothia Peninsula, and on both sides of Hudson Bay. His photographs are superb and well chosen, providing a permanent and accurate record of modern Eskimo activities. But Harrington is a keen and thoughtful observer as well as a photographer; his descriptions of the Eskimo and their problems in facing changing conditions in the north, as well as on the ways of the white man, are particularly valuable because he has no axe to grind. Few books give as clear a picture of modern Eskimo life with its humour and tragedies.
- Hunters on the Sea Ice (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Dec., 1952, 8-13). A series of beautiful photographs of Central Eskimo, illustrating hunting methods.
- The Padleimiuts (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIV (1) Jan., 1952, 2-15). A well-illustrated description of life among the most southerly branch of the Caribou Eskimo, living just north of the tree line on the Barren Lands west of Hudson Bay.
- HAWTHORN, AUDREY. Totem Pole Carver (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, March, 1952, 3-6). A biographical sketch of the life and work of Mungo Martin, the Kwakiutl sculptor who repaired the old totem-poles and carved the ones newly erected on the University of British Columbia campus.
- HEGARTY, DENIS J. Huronia and the Martyrs (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XVI (3), Oct., 1952, 68-9, 86-7). A general account of the history of the Jesuit missions in Huronia.
- HEIZER, ROBERT F. Incised Slate Figurines from Kodiak Island, Alaska (*American Antiquity*, XVII (3), Jan., 1952, 266). A brief note on slate tablets from Kodiak Island, Alaska, with incised anthropomorphic designs.
- HEYERDAHL, THOR. *American Indians in the Pacific*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1952. Pp. xvi, 821. The author believes that a prehistoric migration by sea took place from Indonesia to the northwest coast of America, thence, after many years, to the coast of Peru, and ultimately to Polynesia. This hypothesis explains the many resemblances, physical and cultural, between Indonesia and Polynesia, with gaps in the intervening area. A large number of similarities in culture between British Columbia and Polynesia are cited, and studies of winds and currents are quoted to show that such a series of voyages was possible, and not unduly difficult. One reason for the Kon-Tiki expedition was to test the feasibility of one stage in this migration.
- HICKERSON, HAROLD, TURNER, GLEN D., and HICKERSON, NANCY P. Testing Procedures for Estimating Transfer of Information among Iroquois Dialects and Languages (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVIII (1), Jan., 1952, 1-8). A description of experimental work to test the mutual intelligibility of different Iroquois languages in Ontario and New York State.
- HOFFMAN, BERNARD G. Implications of Radiocarbon Datings for the Origin of the Dorset Culture (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (1), July, 1952, 15-17). Interaction has long been recognized between the Dorset Eskimo culture of the eastern Arctic and an early archaeological horizon in the northeast woodlands. The virtual contemporaneity of the latter with the last glacial advance, as shown by carbon 14 dating, indicates that the cultural influences must have spread from the south to the Dorset area of the north, rather than the reverse.
- HOLTVED, ERK. Remarks on the Polar Eskimo Dialect (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVIII (1), Jan., 1952, 20-4). A linguistic study of elements in the speech of the north Greenland Eskimo.

- HOLMER, NILS M. Seneca II (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVIII (4), Oct., 1952, 217-22). A scholarly paper on Seneca linguistics.
- HONIGMANN, JOHN J. Intercultural Relations at Great Whale River (*American Anthropologist*, LIV (4), Oct.-Dec., 1952, 510-22). A study of the types of interaction and the reasons for them among Indians, Eskimo, and whites at Great Whale River on the east side of Hudson Bay.
- HOUDGE, R. N. Sophisticated Eskimos (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Sept., 1952, 36-7). A brief sketch of the Eskimo of Cape Bathurst, with a few supplementary notes by the late William Gibson.
- HOUGAN, D. J. Archaeology Serves History (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XVI (1), March, 1952, 4-5, 18-26). A summary of the results of archaeological work at Ste Marie and at St Ignace II, where excavations by the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology and by the University of Western Ontario have done much to elucidate the buildings erected by the Jesuit fathers in Huronia between 1640 and 1650.
- Indian Health Services; Indian, Eskimo, Family Allowances (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1951*, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1951, pp. 62-6; 92-3). The annual report of the Department of National Health and Welfare includes data on hospital services and on family allowances provided by the government for Indians and Eskimo.
- JENNESS, DIAMOND. Preservation of Archaeological Remains in Canada (*Science in Alaska*, ed. HENRY B. COLLINS, Washington, Arctic Institute of North America, 1952, 60-5). In the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, the Canadian government has forbidden all archaeological work except by those holding a permit, as well as prohibiting all export of archaeological material without authorization.
- JOHNSON, ALICE M. Ambassador of Peace (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Dec., 1952, 42-5). In 1715 a Chipewyan woman, captured as a slave by the Cree, was instrumental in making peace between these two tribes, thereby making possible the establishment of Fort Churchill.
- JOHNSON, LUDWELL H., III. Men and Elephants in America (*Scientific Monthly*, LXXV (4), Oct., 1952, 215-21). Archaeological evidence has proved the co-existence of man and elephants in America. It is possible, therefore, that Indian folk-tales describing an elephant-like creature are traditions which stem from the period of the last Ice Age.
- JURY, W. WILFRID, and JURY, ELSIE McLEOD. The Burley Site (*Ontario History*, XLIV (2), 1952, 57-71), with an appendix, Age Determination of the Burley Site at Port Franks, Ontario, by Geological Methods, by ALEKSIS DREIMANIS (72-5). A scholarly description of the excavation of an archaeological site on the shore of Lake Huron, near Port Franks, having three superimposed levels of occupancy. Reissued as Bulletin 9, University of Western Ontario, Museum of Indian Archaeology and Pioneer Life.
- KIDD, KENNETH E. Sixty Years of Ontario Archaeology (*Archeology of Eastern United States*, ed. JAMES B. GRIFFIN, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1952, 71-82). A scholarly history of Ontario archaeology, with a summary of knowledge (as of 1948) of the principal cultures represented.
- KINNEY, J. P. *Indian Forest and Range*. Washington, D.C.: Forestry Enterprises. 1951. Pp. 357. An authoritative source-book on the history of government administration in the United States in regard to Indian land and its use; the data are of value in comparable situations in Canada.
- KNUTH, COUNT EIGIL. The Danish Expedition to Peary Land, 1947-49 (*Geographical Journal*, CXVIII (1), March, 1952, 1-11). This general description of a geographical expedition to north Greenland records the discovery of two layers of Eskimo occupancy.
- The Northernmost Country of the World (*Geographical Magazine*, XXIV (5), Sept., 1951, 218-29). Archaeological work in north Greenland showed two levels

- of Eskimo occupancy, probably indicating a spread of population from Baffin Land to East Greenland.
- An Outline of the Archaeology of Peary Land (*Arctic*, V (1), March, 1952, 17-33). Northern Greenland is the most northerly and most eastern area occupied by the Eskimo, an area that is extremely difficult of access, and where the native population was extremely sparse. It contains a number of sites of Dorset culture, as well as ones of later age, probably genetically connected with the Alaskan Whale Hunting Culture. An interesting discovery was of an *umiak* frame, probably used in navigating the difficult seas of northern Greenland.
- KRENOV, JULIA. Legends from Alaska (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XL, 1951, 173-95). A number of legends from southern Alaska, recorded without comment, give evidence of Indian and Eskimo contact, as well as of the attitude of both to the Russians to whose influence they were subjected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- LACOURCIÈRE, LUC and SAVARD, FÉLIX-ANTOINE. Le Folklore acadien (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 126, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1950-51*, Ottawa, 1952, 99-104). A brief appraisal of the importance of Acadian-French folklore, with an account of the areas where it occurs.
- LAGUNA, FREDERICA DE. Preservation of Archaeological and Ethnological Material in Alaska (*Science in Alaska*, ed. HENRY B. COLLINS, Washington, Arctic Institute of North America, 1952, 52-9). The principal danger to archaeological sites in Alaska comes from extensive curio-collecting in the neighbourhood of military camps; and from digging by the Eskimo themselves in order to obtain choice specimens for sale, as well as fossil ivory for manufacturing purposes.
- Some Dynamic Forces in Tlingit Society (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VIII (1), spring, 1952, 1-12). A study of the kinship system and its relation to territorial and class divisions in the ceremonial and social life of the Tlingit of southern Alaska.
- LANTIS, MARGARET. Present Status of the Alaskan Eskimos (*Science in Alaska*, ed. HENRY B. COLLINS, Washington, Arctic Institute of North America, 1952, 38-51). A thoughtful study of modern conditions among the Eskimo of Alaska.
- LARGE, R. GEDDES. Coastal Wanderings (*Museum & Art Notes*, second series, II (2), April, 1952, 31-3). A series of reminiscences and observations on archaeological sites made in the course of travels by boat along the coast of British Columbia.
- LATOUR, A. Textile Arts of the North American Indians (*Ciba Review*, XC, Feb., 1952, 3230-54). After a general introduction on the history of man in the New World, and the principal culture areas, the author gives a very able description of types of Indian costume, embellishment, basketry, weaving, and embroidery. Authoritative summaries of this type are extremely valuable in teaching.
- LATOURELLE, RENÉ. *Etude sur les écrits de Saint Jean de Brébeuf*. Vol. I. Montréal: Les Editions de L'Immaculée-Conception. 1952. Pp. xx, 216. This first volume of a study of Brébeuf contains not only a list of his known writings, but an appraisal of their importance and a description of Huron culture as Brébeuf saw it. See *C.H.R.*, XXXIII, Sept., 1952, 286.
- LAUGHLIN, WILLIAM S. The Alaskan Gateway Viewed From the Aleutian Islands (*Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian*, ed. WILLIAM S. LAUGHLIN, New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1951, 98-126). There are two strains of population in the Aleutian Islands, both related to the Eskimo. There is no evidence to suggest that the Aleutians could have served as a passage route to the New World.
- Contemporary Problems in the Anthropology of Southern Alaska (*Science in Alaska*, ed. HENRY B. COLLINS, Washington, Arctic Institute of North America, 1952, 66-84). To judge by density of population, and by antiquity as shown by archaeology, southern Alaska may have been a main focus of Eskimo culture. There are problems in the fields of linguistics, physical anthropology, archaeology, and

- ethnology, all warranting research, and all giving evidence on the movements and history of the Eskimo.
- LAUGHLIN, W. S., MARSH, G. H., and LEACH, J. W. Supplementary Note on the Aleutian Core and Blade Industry (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (1), July, 1952, 69-70). A note on the distribution of flake implements in the Aleutian Islands.
- LEE, THOMAS E. A Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey of Southwestern Ontario for 1950 (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 126, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1950-51*, Ottawa, 1952, 64-75). A survey of southwestern Ontario, comprising the counties bordering on Lakes Erie and Huron, made possible the location of 110 sites and the recovery of 12,000 artifacts. The occurrence of eight cultural horizons was recognized, and their distribution plotted. This is an important contribution to our knowledge of Ontario archaeology.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. Folk-Lore of the Vanta-Kutchin (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 126, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1950-51*, Ottawa, 1952, 76-93). A collection of folk-tales and miscellaneous beliefs from the Loucheux village of Old Crow, Yukon Territory.
- The Nanaimo Petroglyph (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIV (6), June, 1952, 266-7). In addition to illustrating and describing a large petroglyph near Nanaimo, the author gives two examples of rock carvings of which the history is known, including one which he saw being pecked out to pass the time while waiting for a favourable tide.
- The Old Crow Altar Cloth (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIII (5), Nov., 1951, 204-5). A description of a fine piece of moose-skin bead-work used as an altar cloth in the Loucheux village of Old Crow in the Yukon.
- The Prairie Indian Tipi (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLV (3), Sept., 1952, 113). A brief note on the skin tents used by the Plains Indians.
- LIBBY, WILLARD F. *Radiocarbon Dating*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1952. Pp. 124. An authoritative description of the technique of dating organic material excavated from archaeological sites, together with a summary of the dates thus far postulated.
- LUSSAGNET, SUZANNE. Bibliographie Américaniste (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XL, 1951, 269-326). This annual bibliography continues to be the most extensive listing of articles in all fields of anthropology for North and South America. It is arranged according to subject and region.
- MACNEISH, RICHARD S. The Archeology of the Northeastern United States (*Archeology of Eastern United States*, ed. JAMES B. GRIFFIN, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1952, 46-58). A synthesis of the archaeological history of northern New York and adjacent areas as indicated by culture sequences.
- *Iroquois Pottery Types: A Technique for the study of Iroquois Prehistory*. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 124, Anthropological Series, 31. Ottawa. 1952. Pp. viii, 166. An exhaustive analysis of Iroquois pottery types in Ontario and New York provides one approach to a study of the development of Iroquois prehistory.
- A Possible Early Site in the Thunder Bay District, Ontario (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 126, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1950-51*, Ottawa, 1952, 23-47). A description of an archaeological workshop site in the Thunder Bay District, western Ontario, located on what was the shore of a late Pleistocene lake.
- MALLERY, ARLINGTON H. *Lost America: The Story of Iron-Age Civilization Prior to Columbus*. With the assistance of MARY ROBERTS HARRISON, and an introduction by MATTHEW W. STRLING. Columbus, Ohio, and Washington, D.C.: The Overlook Co. 1951. Pp. xviii, 238. The author advances the extraordinary hypothesis that the Celts established a colony south of the St. Lawrence, centring in northern New York State, which was later occupied by Danes and Norsemen. Though the settlement was wiped out by the Black Death in the fourteenth century, many of its cultural elements were transmitted to the Iroquois. As evidence, Mallery uses: (a)



- literary sources, including little-known sagas, (b) studies of early maps, including unpublished archive material, (c) archaeological evidence, including the excavation of what appear to be iron furnaces, (d) metallurgical analysis of iron articles from various pre-Columbian sites in New York and Newfoundland, (e) resemblances between Iroquois and European culture traits, and (f) re-examination of reputed Viking finds in the New World. The amount of evidence is striking and, though not endorsing Mallery's theory, Dr. Stirling feels that it is worthy of thought.
- MELDGAARD, JORGEN. A Paleo-Eskimo Culture in West Greenland (*American Antiquity*, XVII (3), Jan., 1952, 222-30). Analysis of archaeological material from the northern part of Disko Bay shows resemblances to artifacts from early strata in Alaska; the culture represented appears to be older than the Thule, but has certain resemblances to Dorset.
- MICHÉA, JEAN P. Some Eskimos of Chesterfield Inlet (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIII (5), Nov., 1951, 223-6). A series of excellent photographs, with extended captions, illustrating and explaining activities of the modern Eskimo on the west side of Hudson Bay.
- MILLER, BEATRICE D. Neah Bay: The Makah in Transition (*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLIII (4), Oct., 1952, 262-72). The Makah are a small tribe of northern Washington and southern Vancouver Island; this study comprises an interesting description of their present life and culture at Neah Bay.
- MILLER, ROBERT J. Situation and Sequence in the Study of Folklore (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXV (255), Jan.-March, 1952, 29-48). A study of folk-tales and methodology involved in collecting and recording them among the Makah of northern Washington and Vancouver Island.
- MORIN, VICTOR. L'Emplacement du fort de Dollard des Ormeaux (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, VI (1), juin 1952, 3-19). On the basis of documentary and topographical evidence, the author concludes that the scene of Dollard's heroic stand against the Iroquois was on the north side of the Ottawa River; consequently, a site identified by the National Museum on the south bank must have been some other fortification.
- MOWAT, FARLEY. *People of the Deer*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1952. Pp. viii, 344. A description of the author's experiences among the southern branch of the Caribou Eskimo just north of the tree line and west of Hudson Bay. It is a beautifully written book, stressing the hardships and dangers of these interior people in the modern world. Mowat sees clearly the tragedy of the impact of European civilization on his particular friends, but it is not (nor is it intended to be) a scientific account of the people or a technical description of cultural adjustment. It is the work of a crusader, not of an objective scientist, with the advantages and disadvantages of that approach. See *C.H.R.*, XXXIII, Sept., 1952, 295.
- They Sometimes Murder but Never Steal (*Maclean's Magazine*, LXV (5), March 1, 1952, 18-19, 29-32). Experiences among the interior Eskimo west of Hudson Bay illustrate their attitudes towards life.
- MULLOY, WILLIAM. The Northern Plains (*Archeology of Eastern United States*, ed. JAMES B. GRIFFIN, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1952, 124-38). This summary of the archaeological history of the northern Plains, including archaeological evidence of the history of specific tribes, contains data on southern Saskatchewan and Alberta.
- The Native Voice* (VI (1-12), Jan.-Dec., 1952, monthly). Vancouver: Native Voice Publishing Co., 325 Standard Building, 10 cents per issue. This Indian newspaper, the only one of its kind in Canada, continues to expand its interests. Local Indian news of British Columbia remains an important feature, but articles are included about events in Canadian history, particularly of a social nature or ones in which Indians have participated. The paper is a mine of source material on the interests and activities of contemporary Indians.



- NEUMANN, GEORG K. Archaeology and Race in the American Indian (*Archeology of Eastern United States*, ed. JAMES B. GRIFFIN, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1952, 13-34). On the basis of physical characteristics, eight Indian varieties or sub-types can be recognized in eastern America.
- OSBORNE, DOUGLAS. Late Eskimo Archaeology in the Western Mackenzie Delta Area (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (1), July, 1952, 30-9). A description of a brief archaeological investigation of late Eskimo graves and house remains, together with the artifacts recovered, between Shingle Point and Blow River, on the Mackenzie Delta, Yukon Territory.
- OSWALT, WENDELL. Pottery from Hooper Bay Village, Alaska (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (1), July, 1952, 18-29). Pottery was manufactured by the Eskimo of Hooper Bay on the Alaska shore of Bering Strait until recently; the type is similar to that found generally in other areas between Bristol Bay and Norton Sound. Descriptions of unpublished sherds from various parts of Alaska are given in an appendix.
- OWL, FREL M. Seven Chiefs Rule the Red Lake Band (*American Indian*, VI (3), spring, 1952, 3-12). In the Red Lakes district of northern Minnesota, the Ojibwa (Chippewa) are governed by a number of elderly leaders, but a cleavage between them and a junior group is becoming increasingly apparent. This description of a social situation in Minnesota is pertinent in view of comparable ones in Canada.
- PATERSON, T. T. *Eskimo String Figures and Their Origin*. Acta Arctica, III. Copenhagen. 1949. Pp. 98. A discussion of a pastime which is of some importance among the Eskimo.
- PERRY, F. Ethno-Botany of the Indians in the Interior of British Columbia (*Museum & Art Notes*, second series, II (2), April, 1952, 36-43). Notes on plants and their uses by the Thompson and Okanagan Indians of the southern interior of British Columbia.
- PIRIE, MARGARET C. Canada's First Citizens (*Canadian Banker*, LIX (3), autumn, 1952, 52-66). An attractively written and well-balanced description of the Canadian Indians, their history, and varying ways of life in different parts of the country.
- PITTARD, EUGÈNE. Quelques Mots au sujet des origines des indigènes américains (*Bulletin de la Société suisse des Américanistes*, II, 1951, 1-5).
- POPHAM, ROBERT E. A Bibliography and Historical Review of Physical Anthropology in Canada: 1848-1949 (*Year book of Physical Anthropology* 1950, VI, 1951, 161-84). A reprint of an important bibliographical article that appeared originally in the *Revue canadienne de Biologie* and was cited in this bibliography (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXXII (2), June, 1951, 192).
- POPHAM, ROBERT E. and BELL, W. D. Eskimo Crania from Southampton Island (*Revue canadienne de Biologie*, X (5), Dec., 1951, 435-42). A detailed description of two Eskimo crania from Southampton Island, belonging to the extinct Sadlermiut.
- PRITCHETT, JOHN PERRY. Historical Aspects of the Canadian Métis (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, New York, 1949 [Proceedings], II, *Selected Papers: Acculturation in the Americas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 249-54). A brief summary of the history of mixed French and Indian half-breeds on the northern Plains.
- QUIMBY, GEORGE I. The Archeology of the Upper Great Lakes Area (*Archeology of Eastern United States*, ed. JAMES B. GRIFFIN, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1952, 99-107). A summary of archaeology in the general region of Lake Huron shows a wide range of cultures, extending back to late Pleistocene sites near Manitoulin Island.
- RANDLE, MARTHA CHAMPION. The New Indian Act (*Canadian Forum*, XXXI (374), March, 1952, 272-4). A series of thoughtful comments on the new Act under which the affairs of the Indians of Canada are administered by the government. Though

proclaimed as a New Deal for the Indians, the Act does not alter the basic principle of government control.

- Psychological Types from Iroquois Folktales (*Journal of American Folklore*, LXV (255), Jan.-March, 1952, 13-21). Among Iroquois folk-tales collected on the Grand River Reserve, Ontario, about 1915, a number have been selected for study as illustrating psychological reactions to elements of native culture.
- RAUSCH, ROBERT. Notes on the Nunamiut Eskimo and Mammals of the Anaktuvuk Pass Region, Brooks Range, Alaska (*Arctic*, IV (3), Dec., 1951, 147-95). A description of the way of life of the interior, caribou-hunting Eskimo of northern Alaska.
- RIDLEY, FRANK. The Fallis Site, Ontario (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (1), July, 1952, 7-14). An admirably presented and lucid description of an archaeological site in Simcoe County, Ontario, which contained two occupation levels. The upper was characteristic Huron, the lower was Lalonde focus. The author follows his site description with a cogent discussion of archaeological sequence in Ontario.
- The Huron and Lalonde Occupations of Ontario (*American Antiquity*, XVII (3), Jan., 1952, 197-210). An important article, summarizing the traits found in a series of prehistoric sites in Simcoe County, Ontario. It is a significant step in tracing Huron and Iroquois history.
- RILEY, CARROLL F. The Blowgun in the New World (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VIII (3), autumn, 1952, 297-319). A study of the origin of the blowgun and of its different forms and their distribution in the New World. It is widely distributed in South and Central America, and in eastern North America as far north as the Iroquoian area of southern Ontario.
- RILOUX, MARCEL. Relations between Religion and Government among the Longhouse Iroquois of Grand River, Ontario (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 126, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1950-51*, Ottawa, 1952, 94-8). Religious differences and the survival of tribal attitudes and jealousies continue to be a disruptive factor in the lives of the modern Iroquois on the Grand River, Ontario.
- RITCHIE, WILLIAM A. Paleopathological Evidence Suggesting Pre-Columbian Tuberculosis in New York State (*American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, X (3), new series, Sept., 1952, 305-17). Tuberculosis of the spine is present in three pre-Columbian Indian skeletons from New York State, proving the occurrence of this disease before the coming of the white man.
- ROBERTS, FRANK H. H., JR. Carbon 14 Dates and Archeology (*Transactions of the American Geophysical Union*, XXXIII (2), 1952, 170-4). A description of the use of carbon 14 in the dating of archaeological material, with some of the results obtained.
- The Carbon-14 Method of Age Determination (*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1951*, Washington, 1952, 335-50). A reprint of the above article with further data.
- ROSTLUND, ERHARD. *Freshwater Fish and Fishing in Native North America*. University of California Publications in Geography, vol. IX. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952. Pp. x, 313. An exhaustive study of the use of freshwater fish by the Indians of North America, including descriptions of the techniques used in fishing, as well as biological-geographical studies of the distribution of different species of fish.
- ROUSSEAU, MADELEINE and JACQUES. Le Dualisme religieux des peuplades de la forêt boréale (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, New York, 1949 [Proceedings], II, *Selected Papers: Acculturation in the Americas*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952, 118-26). A study of the interactions of Christianity and aboriginal beliefs among the Indians of northern Quebec.
- Saskatchewan, Department of Education, Adult Education Division, and the Saskatchewan Arts Board. *Saskatchewan Community: A Bulletin*. Vol. 3, no. 10. Regina: Queen's Printer. May 21, 1952. Pp. 8. This issue of a publication devoted to adult

- education in Saskatchewan deals exclusively with problems of the Indian of today, with particular reference to the new legislation. Three points of view are presented, one by an Indian, one by an experienced American administrator, and one by a Canadian who has had much experience among Indians of the Plains.
- SCHAEFFER, CLAUDE E. *Molded Pottery among the Kutenai Indians* (University of Montana, Anthropology and Sociology Papers, VI. Missoula: Montana State University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology. 1952. Pp. 8. According to the recollections of elderly members of the tribe, pottery was formerly manufactured by the Kutenai of southeastern British Columbia.
- SCOTT, LLOYD, text by LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *The Blackfeet* (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Sept., 1952, 26-7). A condensed summary of the life of the Blackfoot, with excellent sketches and a large amount of information in a small space.
- The Swampy Cree (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Dec., 1952, 26-7). A brief illustrated description of the Swampy Cree of northwestern Ontario and eastern Manitoba.
- SHAFFER, ROBERT. Athapaskan and Sino-Tibetan (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVIII (1), Jan., 1952, 12-19). A scholarly study of points of resemblance between the Athapaskan languages of northwestern Canada and the Sino-Tibetan languages of Asia.
- SMITH, MARIAN W. and GOWERS, HAROLD J. Basketry Design and the Columbia Valley Art Style (*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VIII (3), autumn, 1952, 336-41). An analysis of motifs on baskets in the British Museum which were purchased from Indians in the Columbia River Valley during the 1870's. Comparisons are made with Salish designs from the Fraser River area of southern British Columbia.
- SOLECKI, RALPH S. Archaeology and Ecology of the Arctic Slope of Alaska (*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1950*, Washington, 1951, 469-96). A scholarly study of the distribution of archaeological sites in Alaska, in relation both to types of site and to geographical and ecological factors.
- A Petroglyph in Northern Alaska (*American Antiquity*, XVIII (1), July, 1952, 63-4). A brief description of a unique petroglyph from the interior of northern Alaska.
- SPECK, F. G. and DEXTER, R. W. Utilization of Animals and Plants by the Malecite Indians of New Brunswick (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XLII (2), Jan., 1952, 1-7). Animals and plants used by the Malecite for food and other purposes are listed and classified and some details of procurement and preparation are given. An ecological balance between man and nature is particularly important in this area.
- SPUHLER, JAMES N. Some Genetic Variations in American Indians (*Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian*, ed. WILLIAM S. LAUGHLIN, New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1951, 177-202). Genetic variations are valuable in comparing groups within a community.
- STANLEY, GEORGE F. G. The Indian Background of Canadian History (Canadian Historical Association, *Report of the Annual Meeting Held at Quebec, June 4-6, 1952*, 1952, 14-21). An historian gives a thoughtful summary of the changing role of the Indian at different periods of Canadian history.
- SWADESH, MORRIS. Athapaskan and Sino-Tibetan (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVIII (3), July, 1952, 178-81). A scholarly commentary, with further data, on an article by SHAFFER (cited above) concerning resemblances between Athapaskan and Sino-Tibetan.
- Lexico-Statistic Dating of Prehistoric Ethnic Contacts (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCVI (4), Aug., 1952, 452-63). A scholarly study of the value of linguistic change in estimating the lapse of time, with particular reference to dating the period of separation of related languages.

- Salish Phonologic Geography (*Language*, XXVIII (2, part 1), April-June, 1952, 232-48). A study of linguistic change among the Salish Indians of British Columbia and Washington, due in part to the influence of neighbouring tribes of different linguistic stocks.
- Unaaliq and Proto Eskimo II: Phonemes and Morphophonemes; III: Synchronic Notes; IV: Diachronic Notes; V: Comparative Vocabulary (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVIII (1), Jan., 1952, 25-34; XVIII (2), April, 1952, 69-76; XVIII (3), July, 1952, 166-71; XVIII (4), Oct., 1952, 241-56). Four scholarly articles on Eskimo linguistics.
- SWANTON, JOHN R. *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1952. Pp. vi, 726. This is an extremely important volume, representing the work of many years. It is a geographical encyclopaedia of the Indian tribes of North America, giving the location of each as recorded at the time of contact, the principal subdivisions or villages, and a brief summary of their movements during the historic period. The geographical data are recorded on four large-scale maps. The tribes are arranged alphabetically according to states, and there is a large bibliography.
- TAYLOR, S. A. The Indian Today and Yesterday (*The Beaver*, outfit 283, Dec., 1952, 28-31). Comments on changes in the way of life of the Indians of northern Ontario in the last fifty years.
- THALBITZER, W., HAMMERICH, L. L., HOLTVED, ERIK, and BERGLAND, KNUT. Eskimo-Aleut Phonetic Notation (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVIII (2), April, 1952, 112-13). A note on a set of symbols agreed upon by a group of European scholars for use in transcribing the Eskimo language.
- THOMPSON, LAURA. *Personality and Government: Findings and Recommendations of the Indian Administration Research*. Mexico: Ediciones Del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano. 1951. Pp. xviii, 229. This volume embodies the results of a comprehensive study of Indian administration in the United States, based on the findings of a co-operative investigation made by anthropologists, psychologists, administrators, technical specialists, with the collaboration of Indian leaders. It warrants careful study by those charged with the administration of Indian affairs in Canada.
- TURNER, G. H. and PENFOLD, D. J. The Scholastic Aptitude of the Indian Children of the Caradoc Reserve (*Canadian Journal of Psychology*, VI (1), March, 1952, 31-44). Iroquois and Ojibwa children in southwestern Ontario show a lower scholastic aptitude than is found among comparable white children. This is not because of inferior ability, but because of environmental factors.
- VOEGELIN, C. F. The Boas Plan for the Presentation of American Indian Languages (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCVI (4), Aug., 1952, 439-51). An interesting study, attempting to reconstruct the plan of Boas in regard to the study and presentation of grammar of Indian languages as shown in *The Handbook of American Indian Languages*.
- WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C. *The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians as Revealed by the Rorschach Test*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 150. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1952. Pp. viii, 120. A study of types of behaviour and personality among the Tuscarora, an Iroquois tribe, as indicated by Rorschach testing.
- WALLACE, PAUL A. W. John Heckewelder's Indians and the Fenimore Cooper Tradition (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCVI (4), Aug., 1952, 496-504). The Moravian missionary Heckewelder, 1743-1823, worked among the Delaware and Mahican. His voluminous writings, thought biased and swayed by sentiment, can be used profitably; furthermore, they are of interest as the source of much of Fenimore Cooper's writings.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS\*

### CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Association has marked its thirtieth anniversary by publishing an *Index* to its annual *Report*, 1922-51, prepared by Mrs. Janet Craig. This meets a long-felt need and will make the valuable material in the *Reports* far more readily available.

### HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD

A bronze table erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board in honour of Dr. William Canniff, physician and author, was unveiled at Canifiton, Ont., on November 13. An address on Dr. Canniff's career was given by Dr. Fred Landon, chairman of the Historic Sites Board, and the tablet was unveiled by Mr. Frank S. Folwell, M.P. Dr. Canniff was the author of a history of early settlement in Upper Canada and a history of medical practice in Upper Canada between 1790 and 1850, both works of much scholarly value.

### ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS

The next annual conference is to be held at the Institute of Historical Research in London, July 9, 10, and 11, 1953. Historians from Canada who expect to be in England at that time are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute as soon as possible, so that invitations may be sent to them.

### THE ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE AWARD

The eighth annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Award (formerly entitled the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship) of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close on May 1, 1953. Established in 1945, the award has a cash value of \$1,000 and also provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honourable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Dorothy Burne Goebel, Department of History, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

### PUBLICATION OF ABRIDGED EDITION OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

It has been announced that the Queen's Printer will publish a short edition of the British North America Act for the use of teachers and students, to be sold at the nominal price of ten cents. The new edition differs from that of 1948, which is on sale at \$1.50 for a paper-bound copy, in that the British North America Acts of 1949-51 have been added, while considerable other material has been omitted. Copies of the new booklet may be obtained by bona fide students by sending orders to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

\*The editors regret that some of the items here included have been held over because of lack of space in the December issue.

## LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES, AND MUSEUMS

The *Public Archives of Manitoba* and the *Manitoba Historical Society* have published two useful pamphlets, *What You Can Write about the History of Your Home Town* and *Suggestions for the Gathering of Interviews and Reminiscences*, both of which should well serve the cause of local and regional history in western Canada. In a somewhat similar effort to add to the existing sources of information on early western settlement, the *Saskatchewan Archives Board* has distributed a series of questionnaires dealing with general pioneer experiences and pioneer churches, schools, diet, recreation, and social life. An interesting article in *Saskatchewan History*, winter, 1953, reports on the findings of the general questionnaire.

*The New Brunswick Museum.* The Museum's Department of Canadian History is now publishing a bi-monthly historical bulletin. This commendable production may be obtained free of charge, on request. The Museum's *Annual Report* for 1951 indicates increasing use of its Archives by research students. Much credit for improving the Archives' research facilities belongs to Miss Margaret Evans, who resigned in 1952 after ten years as Librarian-Archivist.

The *Ontario Archives* report a number of valuable recent acquisitions concerning the Earl of Selkirk and the controversy over the Red River. These include *The Communications of Mercator* (Montreal, 1817) and *Continuation of the Communications of Mercator* (Montreal, 1817), perhaps the only copy in existence, together with *Observations upon the Papers Laid before the House of Commons Relating to the Red River Settlement* (London, 1820), which is evidently the proof copy of a book that was never published. Also received is a detailed plan of the North West Company's post of Fort William, annotated by Selkirk in 1816, probably the only plan of the fort at that time which is now in existence.

The *Public Archives of Canada* has published two more preliminary inventories of materials in its Manuscript Division. They are: *Manuscript Group II: Colonial Office Papers* and *Fonds des manuscrits no 1: Archives nationales, Paris, Archives des Colonies*.

*University of Western Ontario, Lawson Memorial Library.* Number 17 of the Library's *Western Ontario History Nuggets* consists of the reminiscences of Silas Burt, a construction engineer on the Great Western Railway in 1852. In the September, 1952 issue of *Western Ontario Historical Notes* are presented the scripts of six addresses given over radio station CKLW, Windsor, between April 10 and July 12, 1952, part of a series of historical sketches of Essex County sponsored by the Essex County Tourist Association.

## LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section.* Recent papers heard by this section include "A Tribute to Joseph Despard Pemberton" by W. E. Ireland, and "The History of Atlin" by Mr. W. W. Bilsland. The *Vancouver Section* was addressed by Dr. W. N. Sage on "David Thompson's Explorations on the Columbia." The Association continues to publish its valuable *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* and holds its general annual meetings in January.

*Head of the Lake Historical Society.* Two recent addresses presented to the Society were "Glimpses of Historical Ontario" by Miss A. P. Lewis and "Mrs.

Jameson's Journey in 1837" by Mr. J. J. Cowan. President, Mr. R. S. Charlton; secretary, Miss M. H. Farmer.

*Kent Historical Society.* Dr. N. Morrison addressed the annual meeting of the society on "The County of Essex, 1900-1950." At the meeting Mr. J. F. Fletcher was re-elected president, and Dr. E. M. Milner, secretary-treasurer.

The *Kingston Historical Society* has published a booklet, *Historic Kingston*, containing its transactions for 1951-2. The booklet includes "The Fate of Kingston's Warships" by Professor R. A. Preston and "Kingston as Early Tourists Saw It" by Professor G. F. G. Stanley. President, Lt.-Col. C. M. Strange; secretary, Professor R. A. Preston.

*History Association of Montreal.* President, Miss Allana Reid; secretary, Mrs. M. MacNaughton.

*Ontario Historical Society.* Mr. W. E. Hanna has succeeded Dr. G. W. Spragge as editor of *Ontario History*, the publication of the Ontario Historical Society established in its present quarterly form by Dr. Spragge in 1948. Mr. T. R. Woodhouse is president of the Society and Mr. J. C. Boylen, secretary-treasurer.

The *Société d'Histoire Régionale de Lachine* was incorporated in 1946 and the next year became trustee of the Museum established in the Manoir Lachine, Lachine's oldest house. In 1951 an English Section of the Lachine Society of Regional History was organized, with Professor G. O. Rothney as its president and Principal R. Morton as its secretary. Mr. J. Viau is president of the parent society and Miss M. Drouin, secretary.

*La Société Historique de Québec* has published the fourth in its series, *Cahiers d'Histoire, Québec et son évolution* by Mr. G. Morisset. President, Hon. C.-F. Delage; secretary, Abbé Honorius Provost.

#### CORRESPONDENCE

[In our issue for September, 1952, we printed a letter from Mr. Eugene Forsey which took exception to a remark of Professor MacNutt's, in his article, "The Coming of Responsible Government to New Brunswick," to the effect that the "true stuff of nationality" came only "from the memories of a popular uprising." Professor MacNutt has sent the following reply.]

The remark was offered as a suggestion but not as a rule. Rules of such a nature never really apply universally and the writer who makes use of terms so categorical usually falls into errors in attempting to maintain them. Nevertheless I submit that the suggestion can be strongly supported. English nationality really hardened into its modern form during the period of the Tudors. The revolts against the mediaeval church, the power of Spain, and the concept of a corporate European community of which Mary Tudor was the sombre exponent are the important ingredients. If a date must be chosen I would say 1588 rather than 1688 though the latter represents the great climax of the process. As for France, unless I have greatly misread French and European history the French Revolution supplied an entirely new meaning to patriotism. I would suggest to Mr. Forsey that an examination of the history of smaller nationalities such as the Irish, the Serb, or the Polish will reveal the force of the remark more clearly than in the case of the larger.

As for Canada I share Mr. Forsey's misgivings. There is not yet a moral or cultural basis for a nationality such as a revolt against tyranny. Its absence



has certainly retarded the course of Canadian national development. Those who have wished to coax nationality along have offered substitutes. Poets and artists have sought the essence of Canadian nationality in our northern skies and in our broad spaces. Many groups, Communists included, have offered William Lyon Mackenzie as the tribune of nationality. Very recently there has been Professor Lower's complaint against Canadians who boast of their Scots ancestry. Some garble the story of the past and others would forget it.

To my mind the most positive ingredient of Canadian nationality is the economic one. Should 1879 be taken as the really important date? I fancy that our toughest nationalists are to be found at Oshawa, Windsor, and Hamilton and in the editorial offices of the *Financial Post*.

To those who, like Mr. Forsey, may be concerned with this deficiency there may be some comfort in the reflection that "England grew, Prussia was manufactured." New generations may share in a set of experiences which will be common to Canadians of all races and which will knit the country into a tight moral unity. I am not certain, however, that from the purely ethical point of view this will be highly desirable. Nationality has caused a lot of trouble. Judging by the impatience of some of the more avowed nationalists, they would impose upon us in a generation or two results comparable to those of 1588, 1776, 1789, and 1848. Would this be good?

#### OUR CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN S. GALBRAITH is Associate Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles.

H. B. MAYO is Professor of Political Science at the University of Alberta.

W. L. MORTON is Professor of History at the University of Manitoba. He is author of *The Progressive Party in Canada* (1950).

ALLANA G. REID is a member of the History Department of Hudson High School, Hudson Heights, Quebec.

CARL GEORGE WINTER is Chairman of the Social Studies Department of C. K. McClatchy Senior High School, Sacramento, California.

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